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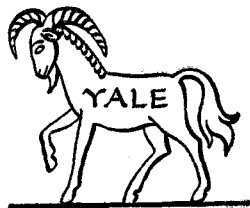
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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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The Winning of Freedom of Speech by the House of Commons

HAROLD HULME

THE acquisition by the House of Commons of the right of freedom of speech is one of the most important events in the history of English constitutional government. Although the outstanding episodes in the struggle by which the Commons wrested this right from the Stuart monarchy are familiar enough, the detailed story necessary to a full understanding of the controversy has not been told. It is the purpose of this essay, therefore, to trace in detail the course of the quarrel between the Commons and King James I and to show precisely how and when freedom of speech was won by the members of the lower House.¹

As Professor Sir John Neale has shown,² freedom of speech in the House of Commons was a privilege which was not widely understood or appreciated

¹ For many of the details in this article I am indebted to papers on this subject by Dr. F. Gunther Eyck and Mr. Edward Kaplan, former students of mine.

² See his articles in the *English Historical Review*, XXXI (1916), 128-37, XXXVI (1921), 497-520, XXXIX (1924), 36-54, 175-205, especially the last two, which are a sketch of the career of Peter Wentworth. See also his essay, "The Commons' Privilege of Free Speech in Parliament" in *Tudor Studies*, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson (London, 1924), pp. 257-86.

by the Commons during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. To be sure, ever since 1523 the Speaker of the House had requested free speech for himself and the Commons. That request and the ruler's immediate granting of it were mere formalities. But both had been made so regularly that, by the end of the sixteenth century, freedom of speech in this guise could be considered an ancient, undoubted right of the Commons, though it was in no sense a reality.

During the reign of Elizabeth, however, the Commons were beginning to demand more than a shadowy right, as a few men, notably Peter and Paul Wentworth, defined and defended parliamentary free speech. During the course of the reign these men displayed increasing eagerness to fight for this privilege. Of them all, Peter Wentworth had the clearest realization of its importance and was willing to become a martyr to the cause of free speech. Using the royal succession and the Puritan reforms of the Church of England as cases in point, he drummed the significance of the privilege into the ears of the Commons, especially in his famous speech of 1576. But as Sir John Neale says: "the construction which Wentworth put upon the privilege of free speech was without historical warrant. Despite his own and later beliefs he was aiming not at renovation but at innovation."³ By the end of the reign many of the Commons accepted and understood the new privilege, but they were not yet ready to make an issue of it. Soon after the accession of James I they were given the opportunity to do so and they took it. Thus Elizabethan agitation involving a few members had laid the foundation on which early Stuart turbulence involving many was to build a sacred right.

What did this privilege mean to Wentworth and to those in the next century who fought so bitterly for it?

It did not mean that a member of the House of Commons could say whatever came into his head. It permitted the House to be judge of what was or was not to be said within its walls. It gave the House the right to punish those whose words it had judged to be unworthy of a member. Most important of all, it meant that no individual or body, whether king or court of law, could punish for speech in the House or interfere with the right of the Commons to be judges of words spoken in their midst.⁴

It is self-evident that the demand for such a privilege would cause trouble between crown and Commons when James VI, king of Roman-law Scotland, became James I, king of common-law England. This king, supreme and

³ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX, 202. Sir John Neale in his *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1559-1581* (London, 1953), p. 325, comments on Wentworth's revolutionary conception of freedom of speech in 1576 as follows: "he [Peter Wentworth] was wrong, utterly wrong in his own generation; but the future hallowed his doctrine. He, indeed, as much as any of his colleagues, shaped that future."

⁴ Harold Hulme, "Our American Heritage: Freedoms Derived from the English Constitution," *American Bar Association Journal*, XXXII (December, 1946), 898.

absolute in his own eyes and protected by the aura of a divine hereditary right, could hardly be expected to look with equanimity on a House of Commons whose members were becoming conscious of their rights and privileges and who were beginning to consider themselves members of the highest court of the realm, whose law and custom to them was supreme even over their king. Their new king had been accustomed to a Scottish parliament where a member could not speak without the chancellor's permission and where a bill could not be introduced without first receiving royal approval.⁵ No freedom of speech existed in such a parliament, where the king's power and prerogative ruled supreme. James regarded his prerogative in England in exactly the same light. What was covered by the royal prerogative he refused to declare. It was not Puritanism, as was the case under Elizabeth, which came into conflict with the prerogative and aroused the Commons to defend free speech under James. It was privileges, all in general and one in particular.

After the usual formal request for freedom of speech by the Speaker at the opening of parliament and its customary grant,⁶ the Commons on the first day of their proceedings, March 22, 1604, became embroiled in the well-known disputed election return of Buckinghamshire, better known as the Goodwin *versus* Fortescue case. It concerned the right of the Commons to settle their own disputed election returns and therefore involved one of their privileges. Soon debate over a single privilege was broadened into discussion of the whole question of privileges of the Commons, when on March 29 the Speaker, reading a message from the king, declared that his Majesty "had no Purpose to impeach their Privilege: But since they derived all Matters of Privilege from him, and by his Grant, he expected they should not be turned against him."⁷ James might just as easily have said that freedom of speech was derived from and granted by the king.

The next morning the House devoted its entire time to a debate on the royal message, which had only incidentally mentioned privileges and had gone into many aspects of the Goodwin case. A number of those who spoke on the message had something to say about a privilege or privileges. For example, Sir George More desired "that we may hold all our Privileges intire," and Sir Francis Bacon moved that "it may be explained by Law, what our Privileges are." It was felt that James's interference in the Goodwin case

⁵ Charles H. McIlwain, *The Political Works of James I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), pp. 301, 302.

⁶ Frederick G. Marcham, "The Speaker's Claim for Freedom of Speech," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV (1929), 454. *Journals of the House of Commons, 1803*, I, 149, omits this request. Hereafter this source will be referred to as *C.J.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 158, 938. Modern dating is used in this essay.

might be the first step toward taking all the privileges from the Commons. The fear of such a possibility is clearly seen in Mr. Yelverton's suggestion that the king's words "may be called a *Quo Warranto*, to seize our Liberties." By the time the case was settled, the members of the lower House had nothing more to say about their privileges, while James on two occasions declared that he would uphold them.⁸

For the next two months the Commons ineffectually debated mild reforms of the church, the evils of purveyance and wardship, and the union between England and Scotland. Finally they decided to draft a document in which they would explain to the king why they had acted or failed to act on all these subjects and many more as well, and in which they would inform his Majesty, who had been misinformed, as to just what their privileges and liberties were. That document was the famous "Apology" of the Commons dated June 20, 1604.⁹

In dealing with those privileges in this document the Commons had not forgotten the king's message of March 29. James was told that he had been misinformed "that we hold not privileges of right, but of grace only, renewed every Parliament by way of donature upon petition, and so to be limited." Contrariwise, the Commons declared, "our privileges and liberties are our right and due inheritance, no less than our very lands and goods." When these words are applied to the privilege of freedom of speech, the revolutionary appeal of Peter Wentworth in 1576 is immediately recalled.¹⁰ The Commons of 1604 asserted that an interpretation was ancient which actually was new. But the members of the lower House became even more specific in their "Apology." Because of misinformation "the freedom of our speech [has been] prejudiced by often reproofs." They asserted that "in Parliament they may speak freely their consciences without check and controlment, doing the same with due reverence to the Sovereign Court of Parliament, that is, to your Majesty and both the Houses, who all in this case make but one politic body whereof your Highness is the Head." And then as examples of how this privilege had been violated they said that "freedom of our speech, as by divers other reproofs, as also in some sort by the Bishop of Bristol's invective" had been injured.

No such reproofs have been recorded in the *Journals*. On the other hand,

⁸ This paragraph is based on *ibid.*, pp. 159, 168, 171, 939, 944, 946.

⁹ Joseph R. Tanner, *Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I* (Cambridge, Eng., 1930), pp. 217-30.

¹⁰ He declared: "for free Speech and Conscience in this place are granted by a special Law, as that without the which the Prince and State cannot be preserved or maintained." Sir Simonds D'Ewes, *The Journals of All the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1682), p. 238. See also the comment on these words in Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments*, p. 321.

while the debates on the union with Scotland were still in progress, John Thornborough, bishop of Bristol, published a book in which he made statements "tending to the Derogation and Scandal of the Proceedings of the House in the Matter of the Union."¹¹ The Commons working in conjunction with the Lords from May 26 to June 11 forced Thornborough to apologize.¹² But they felt so strongly about the bishop's interference with what they called their freedom of speech that he was specifically mentioned in the "Apology." In the end, it seems that this document was never officially sent to James. Whether or not he saw it is another matter.¹³

In summary it may be said that in 1604 a new angle had been introduced into the struggle over freedom of speech. James declared that the Commons had this privilege because he granted it to them. The Commons replied that freedom of speech was an ancient, inherited right which was not granted to them by the king. Historically James was correct. They were claiming as old a liberty which was really new and ill-founded in the custom of the constitution. To be sure, the Speaker had requested freedom of speech at the opening of every parliament since 1523. By 1604 this request and its subsequent grant could be considered old and could be made the basis for an ancient and inherited right. But the Commons could hardly be said to have exercised this right. Because of that the king could claim that it did not exist. They had freedom of speech, but the king granted it. If that was the case, they might have said, the king could refuse to grant it; or, more to the point, he could limit it, as Elizabeth had done on several occasions. Possibly with such considerations in mind, the members of the House hoped to prevent a refusal of their privilege, or better, to prevent any limitations on their privilege, by claiming it as their due and inheritance. In closing the first session of this parliament on June 7, James was either warning or threatening the Commons when he declared: "You must know now that, the Parliament not sitting, the liberties are not sitting."¹⁴

After the fears aroused by the disclosure of the Gunpowder Plot had been dispelled, the second session finally got under way in January, 1606. Quickly the Commons revived some of the old issues and began to prepare a bill which would remedy the mischiefs caused by purveyance. But on March 8 the Speaker delivered a message from his Majesty in which the king asked them, with "Tudor" tact, to drop their bill and trust him and his courts to

¹¹ *A Discourse plainly proving the evident Utility and urgent Necessity of the desired happy Union of England and Scotland* (1604). Tanner, p. 225.

¹² *C.J.*, I, 226-36, 981.

¹³ Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603-1642* (London, 1904-1909), I, 186. He adds, "there can be little doubt that a copy of it reached his [the king's] hands."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 191.

correct the evils of purveyance. Shortly thereafter Sir Edwin Sandys arose and said: "Touching our bill against Purveiers I thincke wee ought not to let it sleepe for as well and by the like course uppon like message anie other bill which wee shall have heare maie be kept from his Majesties heares."¹⁵ For some reason James either ignored Sir Edwin's opposition to his order or he was not informed of his speech. A few months earlier the king had told the Commons with what circumspection they should speak; and the Commons had ignored his words. Now a member spoke without circumspection; and James ignored his words. It may be true that "Sandys had won a first battle for the right of the Commons to disregard the King when he attempted to shut off discussion."¹⁶ It might better be called a victory by default. But real battles over this most vital privilege were inevitable when the spoken words and known ideas of King James are considered in conjunction with the temper of the House of Commons as illustrated by the "Apology" and the proposal of Sir Edwin Sandys.

At first glance it looks as though freedom of speech again became an issue during the third session of this parliament. But closer examination leaves considerable doubt. The Commons were in the midst of their discussion of the union of England and Scotland when, without warning on Friday, February 13, 1607, Sir Christopher Pigott uttered an "Invective against the Scotts and the Scottish Nation, using many Words of Scandal and Obloquy, ill beseeing such an Audience, not pertinent to the Matter in hand, and very unseasonable for the Time and Occasion." The Commons, it seems, were so amazed at Pigott's words, "though there appeared in every Man's Countenance a great Dislike of that which passed from him with so great Distemper," that they did nothing at all about the speech or against the speaker.¹⁷ Over the weekend the king was informed of Pigott's language and the Commons' inaction. He was furious. On Monday the House of its own accord took into consideration the scandalous words of Sir Christopher. Hardly had they begun this business when they were informed that his Majesty had been outraged at such language and surprised that Pigott had not been stopped in the midst of his speech and immediately punished. One would expect the Commons to bridle at this royal interference and violation

¹⁵ David H. Willson, *The Parliamentary Diary of Robert Bowyer, 1606-1607* (Minneapolis, 1931), p. 71. *C.J.*, I, 280-81. The bill passed the Commons on March 20 but was thrown out by the Lords. Willson, p. 76, n. 7.

¹⁶ Wallace Notestein, *The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons* (London, 1924), p. 44.

¹⁷ *C.J.*, I, 333. "Yet, out of a common Care to follow and expedite the weighty Business then in hand [the union with Scotland], his said Speech was, for this Day, with a general Amazement, neglected, without Tax or Censure." *Ibid.* The same "weighty Business" kept the Commons from Pigott's speech on Saturday. *Ibid.*, pp. 334-35.

of their privilege. But according to the *Journals* not a word was said about the message from the king. Presumably it was ignored because the Commons had already begun to take independent action against Pigott and also because they felt just as strongly about the language of the member as had the king. There was an extensive debate on how to treat Pigott. Nobody was opposed to punishing him; nobody mentioned the king's interference. Finally it was decided that Sir Christopher Pigott should be deprived of his seat and imprisoned in the Tower at the pleasure of the House.¹⁸ James played no part in the decision of the Commons as far as can be seen from the debates reported in the *Journals*. There is little doubt that Pigott would have been punished in the same way had no report of the king's displeasure been sent to the House. It seems that at the moment the Commons did not realize that their freedom of speech had in any way been violated. That it was a violation in substance can hardly be doubted.

When on March 31 King James harangued the two Houses on the union issue before they adjourned for a long Easter holiday, he made a reference to men like Pigott when he compared the parliaments of Scotland and England. And then he remarked about the English parliament that "the libertie for any man to speake what hee list and as long as he list, was the onely cause he was not interrupted."¹⁹ The king had no love for the privilege of free speech. He seemed, however, to be sparring with the Commons and appeared to be afraid to strike a hard blow.

The fourth session of the first parliament of the reign of James, which began on February 9, 1610, proved to be difficult and important with finance as the great issue. The matter of voting a subsidy and the possibility of abolishing feudal tenures in a contract with the crown held the attention of the Commons for the first three months. Not until April 30 did Sir Edwin Sandys inform the House that the committee of the whole for grievances was considering impositions, that is, those duties levied over and above those sanctioned by law and custom which had supposedly been legalized by the Bate case decision of 1606.²⁰ But the Commons were outraged when it was found that Lord Treasurer Salisbury had included a number of new impositions in the book of rates of 1608, and when, in the commission to levy them issued in the name of the king,²¹ he showed that these duties were imposed primarily to raise revenue. There was no mention of the decision in

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 335-36, 1014.

¹⁹ McIlwain, p. 301.

²⁰ Sir George W. Prothero, *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I* (4th ed., Oxford, 1913), pp. 340-42.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 353-55.

the Bate case with its background of foreign affairs and foreign trade covered by the prerogative. Salisbury in issuing the commission had made a slip,²² and now in 1610 the Commons had caught it. Impositions were clearly a grievance, for the king appeared to be levying a tax without the consent of parliament. The property rights of Englishmen were being endangered.

On that April 30 Sandys told the Commons that precedents, which would show the illegality of impositions, were to be searched for in the Tower and other repositories.²³ When on May 11 these precedents were about to be presented, the Speaker informed the House that his Majesty commanded the Commons "not to dispute of the King's power and prerogative in imposing upon merchandises exported and imported," for a court decision had recently been given in favor of this power.²⁴ Earlier in the session James had warned the Commons to "beware to exhibit for *Grievance* any thing that is established by a settled Law."²⁵ The Commons were thoroughly aroused. They found that their attack on impositions had been stopped, and that, in the eyes of many, their privilege of freedom of speech had been violated. The situation was not improved when James addressed the two Houses on May 21 and directed his words particularly to the members of the lower House. He told them that, because one imposition might be considered an abuse, his power to impose in general should not be questioned. James also declared that, in the same way, because the Commons had misused one of their privileges he was not warranted to deprive them of all their privileges. He commanded the Commons "not to call his power or prerogative in that poynte [to levy impositions] in question or to debate these."²⁶

The speech was discussed at great length the next morning in the House and during the afternoon in committee of the whole. A number of members were as much aroused over the threat to the privilege of free speech as over the danger from impositions. Many spoke on both issues. Nicholas Fuller declared "that the special privilege of parliament is to debate freely of all things that shall concern any of the subjects in particular, or the Commonwealth in generall, without any restraint or inhibition." Thomas Wentworth of Oxford asserted "that in all ages the King's prerogative . . . hath bene examined and debated in Parliament." But Francis Bacon disconcerted the members by reminding them that Queen Elizabeth on several occasions had

²² He seems to have believed that the decision of a royal court was enough protection for his action and to have ignored the basis of that decision.

²³ *C.J.*, I, 422, 423.

²⁴ Samuel R. Gardiner, *Parliamentary Debates in 1610* (Camden Soc., 1862), p. 32. Hereafter cited as *C.D. 1610. C.J.*, I, 427.

²⁵ In a speech supposedly delivered to the two Houses on Mar. 21, 1610, McIlwain, p. 315.

²⁶ *C.D. 1610*, pp. 35 n., 36.

restrained the Commons from debating certain subjects. They should maintain their privilege, he said, in debating "the right or interest of any subject or the Commonwealth," but when it concerned the prerogative they should desist. It was difficult to dispute the precedents which Bacon cited from Elizabeth's reign. But the consensus was that the levying of impositions was a grievance which bore heavily on both the right and interest of the subject and on the commonwealth as a whole.²⁷

As a result of this debate the issue had broadened. Freedom to discuss the rights of the subject versus the prerogative of the king was overshadowing the question of impositions. "It was moved, . . . that, as the King had granted us freedom of speeche at the begininge of the parliament concerninge all matters of the Commonwealth, . . . so we should by a Petition of Right make knowne our liberties to his Majesty."²⁸

The petition, which was prepared on May 23 by the Commons and presented to King James on the next day, declared among other things: "We hold it an ancient, general, and undoubted Right of Parliament, to debate freely, all Matters which do properly concern the Subject, and his Right or State; which Freedom of Debate being once foreclosed, the Essence of the Liberty of Parliament is withal dissolved." They said that they had no intention of impugning his Majesty's prerogative in the matter of levying impositions. But they humbly besought him to permit them to proceed "in our intended Course of a full Examination of these new Impositions."²⁹

The Commons were in a strong position in the light of the immediate past. But when they declared that the royal prerogative involving the subject's right had been freely debated in former parliaments they were on very shaky ground. In fact, James could have used arguments and precedents in reply which might have given a mortal wound to free speech. Elizabeth had called upon the prerogative to silence the Commons whenever she pleased. The arguments for free speech were so new and revolutionary in her reign that they could be toppled with the slightest push. It must also be remembered that the "Apology" of 1604 had never been officially presented to the king. It could hardly be called an authoritative precedent. Now, if granted, this petition of right would give to freedom of speech a firmer foundation as a privilege, though limited in scope, than it had ever had before. For the king to refuse to grant the petition would undoubtedly mean an indignant, hostile House of Commons which would not vote him a single shilling. James was in no position to drive the members to such extremes. There was

²⁷ This paragraph is based on *C.J.*, I, 430-31, and *C.D.* 1610, pp. 37, 38.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²⁹ *C.J.*, I, 431-32.

still hope of substantial financial support and of a settlement to his advantage of the Great Contract. Clearly discretion was the better part of valor. A deputation of the Commons with the petition found him at Greenwich in an affable mood. The king made excuses and insisted that his message had been misunderstood. With his usual verbosity he retracted much of what he had said. And in the end it was declared that "For our petition, he granted it as wee had sett it downe our selves."³⁰

The Commons had won a notable victory in their fight for freedom of speech. One subject which the king had claimed to be under his prerogative was now freed from that restraint. Elizabeth in 1566 appeared to submit to the Commons but actually got what she wanted when she stopped them from discussing the succession question.³¹ James gained nothing but the momentary good will of the Commons. Impositions they could now discuss to their hearts' content. In 1604 the king had declared that the Commons "derived all Matters of Privilege from him." Now when the Commons said that they "held it an ancient, general, and undoubted Right of Parliament, to debate freely," etc., James made no reply. He failed to employ the language of six years earlier. One gets the impression that when James was not in dire need he would talk boldly about his prerogative and belittle the privileges of the Commons. But in the opposite circumstances he would take the opposite stand. He was simply an opportunist. Through their petition of right, formally accepted by the king, the Commons had established a strong precedent. But they still did not have the right to speak freely on all subjects.

Soon after the fifth session opened on October 16, 1610, there was evidence of approaching trouble. The Commons made demands and showed dissatisfaction with the king's reply to their grievances. Since the grant voted by the Commons was inadequate, James needed much more money. He therefore found the terms of the Great Contract unacceptable. The insistence on Puritan reforms of the church angered him. Even worse were the denunciations in the lower House of the extravagances of his Scotch favorites.³² The Houses adjourned on November 29 and were dissolved on February 9, 1611. During this interval the king wanted to know "why the offensive speakers in Parliament could not be punished," Sir Thomas Lake, a privy councillor, wrote to the earl of Salisbury. A few days later, Lake told Salisbury that he had used arguments against punishing members of parliament and believed that his Majesty would take no action against them.³³ To King James free-

³⁰ *C.D.* 1610, pp. 41, 42.

³¹ Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments*, p. 157.

³² *C.D.* 1610, p. 145.

³³ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603-1610* (London, 1857), pp. 649, 650 (Dec. 2 and 6).

dom of speech in the House of Commons meant nothing. He could violate it whenever he pleased.

Soon after James met his second parliament on April 5, 1614, the Commons displayed a temper more difficult to handle than ever before. They spoke freely and frequently against impositions. On May 24, when the Lords were discussing the request of the Commons for a conference on this controversial topic, Richard Neile, bishop of Lincoln, opposed such a meeting. He declared that their Lordships might hear "undutiful and seditious speeches" from members of the committee sent up by the lower House.³⁴ This attack on the Commons infuriated them. A prelate had insulted them and had brought free speech into jeopardy. When on May 26 the Commons threatened to complain to the king about Neile's words and were going to ask the king to punish the bishop, Sandys persuaded them against such action.³⁵ It would, he said, endanger their privilege of freedom of speech. Should the king be able to punish a peer for his speech, the privilege of the Lords would be violated and his Majesty would then have a precedent for punishing a member of the lower House. He reminded them of the case of Sir Christopher Pigott, which he considered to have been a violation of their privilege. That was the way it now appeared in the light of the past seven years. The Commons saw the wisdom of Sandys's proposal and decided to ask the Lords, not the king, to punish the bishop.

On the next day James sent a letter to the Commons in which he hinted that if they did not get down to business he would dissolve them.³⁶ By the end of May, Neile had apologized. But the Commons were not satisfied. They continued to refuse to do the king's business. Finally, on June 3, James lost all patience and sent a message through the Speaker, "that, unless we forthwith proceed to treat of his Supply, he will dissolve the Parliament."³⁷ Though this threat was a clear violation of freedom of speech, the Commons were so perturbed at their failure to secure the redress of their major grievance, impositions, without first voting supply, that they paid no attention to the attack of the king on their privilege. They proceeded to denounce impositions in the strongest possible language.³⁸ When the members proved to be as stubborn as the king, they found themselves sent home on June 7, 1614.

³⁴ Wallace Notestein, Frances H. Relf, Hartley Simpson, *Commons Debates, 1621* (New Haven, 1935), VII, 645. Hereafter cited as *C.D. 1621. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Portland Manuscripts* (London, 1923), IX, 133. Hereafter cited as *Portland MSS. C.J.*, I, 498.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, *C.D. 1621*, VII, 646.

³⁶ *Portland MSS.*, IX, 133-34. *C.D. 1621*, VII, 647.

³⁷ *C.J.*, I, 505. *Portland MSS.*, IX, 136.

³⁸ Chamberlain to Carleton, June 9, 1614, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman E. McClure (Philadelphia, 1939), I, 537-38.

Worse was to follow when on June 8 Thomas Wentworth, John Hoskins, Christopher Neville, and Sir Walter Shute were sent to the Tower for words they had used in the House of Commons. Three of them were released after a few months, but Hoskins remained in prison for a year.³⁹ The king's act was a flagrant violation of freedom of speech. This time members had been punished not by their fellow members but by the king for words spoken in the House. Elizabeth had imprisoned members of parliament not for words they had spoken but for bills introduced into the lower House. They had been imprisoned by the queen not as a punishment but to stop the progress of the bills they had introduced. James clearly had punished for speech in parliament and thereby had violated the most vital privilege of the Commons.

When James I addressed the members of both Houses at the opening of his third parliament on January 30, 1621, he employed language which was better suited to an absolute than to a constitutional monarch.⁴⁰ But the Commons had become so used to their king's high flights into the realm of political theory that they ignored such a discourse completely. The members of this parliament, furthermore, were totally different in spirit, though by no means in person, from those of the last assembly. Conciliation and co-operation were the terms which set the tone of this session.

When the new Speaker, Serjeant Thomas Richardson, had been duly elected, he made on February 3 the usual request for "libertye of dutifull speeches" and received the usual grant of this privilege with the not uncommon qualifying words: "not to turne libertie of speeche into licence or breake the reverence due to a Sovereigne."⁴¹

But only two days later Sir Edward Giles moved that a petition be sent to the king for freedom of speech. Why, when this had just been granted? Sir Edward remembered that on the day after the last parliament had been dissolved several members had been sent to the Tower for speeches they had made in the House. He also remembered that on December 24, 1620, his Majesty had issued a proclamation "against excesse of Lavish and Licentious Speech of matters of State." Sir Edward felt that the king had violated freedom of speech by punishing members for words they had used in the House. And presumably he wanted King James to explain his proclamation which looked like another violation of the privilege of the Commons. Sir Robert Phelps seconded Giles's motion and spoke strongly in defense of free speech.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 539. Louise B. Osborn, *The Life, Letters, and Writings of John Hoskyns, 1566-1638* (New Haven, 1937), pp. 38-41.

⁴⁰ *C.D.* 1621, II, 12; VI, 372.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 8, 10.

He believed that they ought to preserve what their ancestors had gained for them and cited the "Apology" in support of his argument.⁴²

The debate was long, with many members participating. In addition, it was a confused debate, as the subjects of the enforcement of the penal laws against Roman Catholics and of a grant of supply were intermixed with that of the preservation of freedom of speech. Privy councillors saw no reason to petition the king for free speech because his Majesty had granted it only a few days ago. Others believed that something should be done about their privilege to enable the House to punish its members for language used in debate. Perrot wanted the king to explain what he meant in his proclamation. But Sir Edward Coke, citing the statute of Richard Strode of 1512,⁴³ declared that this act was a strong defense of freedom of speech and nullified the recent proclamation, "for no proclamation can be in force against an act of parliament." After others had spoken without the House coming to any conclusion, it was decided to continue the debate in committee of the whole that afternoon.⁴⁴

With Sir Edward Coke in the chair, debate in committee centered on the question as to whether they should petition the king directly for their privilege, ask the Lords to join them, or present to his Majesty a verbal petition requesting freedom of speech. In the course of the discussion Secretary Calvert clarified the objective of the recent proclamation when he said, "I think that proclamation was intended against such as make ordinary table talk of state matters in taverns and alehouses, and not against parliament men." A little later the true cause of all this discussion was made clear when Phelps said: "if ever privileges were broken it was the last parliament upon those men who, the next day after the parliament was dissolved, were committed to the Tower." In the end they decided to approach his Majesty with a written petition, and a subcommittee was named to prepare this document.⁴⁵

When this procedure proved unsatisfactory, a long debate in the House took place on February 12. Since the Commons could not agree to drop the whole matter, they decided not to work with the Lords but to go alone to the king. The difficulty of how to approach his Majesty, by message, petition,

⁴² This paragraph is based on *ibid.*, II, 17 and n. 5; IV, 11-12; V, 433.

⁴³ It reads in part: "be it enacted . . . that suits, accusations, condemnations, executions, fines, amerciements, punishments, corrections, grievances, charges, and impositions, put or had, or hereafter to be put or had, unto or upon the said Richard [Strode], and to every other of the person or persons afore specified that now be of this present Parliament or that of any Parliament hereafter shall be, for any bill, speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters concerning the Parliament to be communed and treated of, be utterly void and of none effect." Joseph R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents* (Cambridge, Eng., 1922), p. 559.

⁴⁴ This paragraph is based on *C.D. 1621*, II, 17-24; IV, 11-16. *C.J.*, I, 508-10.

⁴⁵ This paragraph is based on *C.D. 1621*, II, 25.

or bill, was solved by Sandys, who induced the members to proceed by bill. But, as he said, the House must make sure "that noe imputacion might be layde upon the Kinge" in this bill which "should bee made against such as shall hereafter frame anye accusacion against anye member of the Howse for anye thinge spoken by him therein duringe the tyme of Parliament." The Strode act, which was read in the House, was felt by many to be insufficient to guard their privilege in the light of the immediate past. In the end, because some felt that a bill would not protect their privilege in this parliament, it was decided that the committee should prepare a message to be sent to the king in which he would be asked to guarantee freedom of speech. Thus they would be protected in the present, and a bill would uphold their privilege in the future.⁴⁶

When three days later John Glanville reported from the committee that the message to the king and the bill had been prepared,⁴⁷ Calvert "said that the King had commanded him to tell the House from his Majesty that he gave as free liberty to speak as any king before him ever did and if any speak otherwise than they ought he hoped that the House would see them punished there."⁴⁸ After the Secretary had put the king's message in writing,⁴⁹ the Commons were completely satisfied. Sir George's remarks "set an end to that matter and from that tyme all other Propositions concerning libertie of speeche were layde aside."⁵⁰ All the work of the Commons to defend their sacred privilege proved to be only a balloon which was instantly deflated by a gentle little prick from James.

From the beginning to the end of this episode the members of the House of Commons displayed their loyalty to the king and their regard for his rights and powers. They seemed to be afraid of blaming James in any way for the imprisonments after the last parliament. Yet it had been these imprisonments, undoubtedly ordered by the king, which had aroused their interest in defending the privilege of freedom of speech. In deciding to proceed by message and a bill, the Commons examined the historical background of their privilege. For the first time in this reign the Strode act was cited on several occasions in defense of free speech. Sandys mentioned times when Elizabeth had imprisoned members of the lower House.⁵¹ The

⁴⁶ This paragraph is based on *C.J.*, I, 517-18. *C.D.* 1621, II, 61 n. 25; IV, 39-40; V, 448-51.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 83; IV, 54. *C.J.*, I, 522.

⁴⁸ *C.D.* 1621, II, 83.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, V, 462-63. See *ibid.*, VII, 575-76, for King James's letter of instructions to Calvert, where his words carry a slightly different meaning.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 55.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II, 60.

"Apology" of 1604⁵² and the petition of 1610⁵³ were alluded to. Even the case of Sir Christopher Pigott was referred to as an example of a member being punished by the House.⁵⁴ In actual fact the proposals of the Commons were so harmless that one is surprised that James did not permit them to proceed with their message and bill. The Commons in their conciliatory frame of mind could hardly have produced other than a most innocuous bill. But the point was that it might become a precedent, and that was dangerous in the eyes of the king. When he did intervene, he granted them nothing they did not have when proceedings began on February 3. The Commons appeared to be pacified. Men like Sandys, Edward Alford, Giles, and others too, may have felt that their gentle reprimand would serve as a warning. It might act as a precedent and make King James think twice before he violated again the vital privilege of freedom of speech by sending a member to the Tower for words he had used in the House.

During the rest of a long session the issue of free speech was not again brought directly before the House of Commons. When on May 28 the king sent word to parliament that he would shortly request the two Houses to adjourn for the summer, there was consternation and dismay among the Commons. No bill except the subsidy bill had been passed.⁵⁵ So many good measures were under consideration. Adjournment instead of prorogation for so long a period was unprecedented. But adjournment did enable the Houses to proceed in the second session with the bills which had been initiated in the first. What was more to the point, during an adjournment the privileges of the House of Commons continued to protect the members. That was the subject which was being discussed at length on June 1.⁵⁶

But the Commons did not seem to be too sure of this protection. On June 2 Sir Walter Erle declared that, as the king had granted them freedom of speech, the House should now by a vote clear Sir Edwin Sandys, who in the past had made some remarks in the House for which he had been criticized. Thereupon Sandys arose to explain the words he had used in previous speeches which might have been misinterpreted. When he sat down, a vote was taken and the House cleared him unanimously.⁵⁷ Alford, like a few

⁵² By Phelps on Feb. 5, *ibid.*, V, 433. *C.J.*, I, 508.

⁵³ By an unnamed speaker in committee of the whole on Feb. 9, *C.D.*, 1621, IV, 37.

⁵⁴ By Phelps on Feb. 5 in *ibid.*, IV, 17. In *ibid.*, II, 25, where another version of Phelps' speech is given, there is no mention of the Pigott case. It is strange that Sir Robert should not turn this case into a violation of the privilege of the Commons as Sandys had done in 1614.

⁵⁵ It received the royal assent on March 22.

⁵⁶ This paragraph is based on *C.J.*, I, 569, 629, 634-35. *C.D.* 1621, II, 257; III, 325-26, 380-83; IV, 184.

⁵⁷ But as Smyth says in *ibid.*, V, 392, "*nemine contradicente*, the house being very full but none of the 6 counselors."

others, was not pleased that this body should have to clear a member for words he had spoken. He stood on the privileges of the Commons and his own integrity. When several, including Sir Dudley Digges and Sir George More, suggested that all the members be cleared for what they had said in this session, Phelps put a stop to such nonsense by saying: "If I, for my part, have oute of freedom of my hartie expressions given any offence to the King, I desyer only to be cleared by him, if he shall please him to Question me."⁵⁸

Obviously the Commons did not trust their sovereign. They feared the precedent of 1614 and wanted to be certain that this time no one would be imprisoned for the language he had used. It seemed to many that Sir Edwin Sandys would be the most likely candidate for such an honor. Therefore, they tried to protect him and also to guard their privilege.

On June 4 the Commons and Lords adjourned until November 14.⁵⁹ But on June 16 the earl of Southampton, John Selden, who was not a member of parliament, and Sir Edwin Sandys were arrested. Selden and Sandys were put in custody of London's sheriffs. John Chamberlain, writing to Sir Dudley Carleton on June 23, did not think these men had been put in custody for anything that had happened in parliament.⁶⁰ Gardiner believes that Sandys was arrested because he had been in consultation with Southampton and others about "opening direct negotiations with Frederick and Elizabeth [of the Palatinate]."⁶¹ When Chamberlain wrote to Carleton on July 21 he said that Sandys had been freed. In another letter from this newsmonger to Sir Dudley, of November 24, we learn that Sandys's absence from the House was due to illness and "that he was free from confining since the sixt of this moneth [presumably November]."⁶²

When the House met for its second session many members were not satisfied as to the fate of Sir Edwin Sandys. Though Secretary Calvert on November 23 explained that Sir Edwin's imprisonment "was not for Parliament business nor for any thing donn or spoken in Parliament," his case was reopened by Edward Spencer on December 1. In spite of the fact that King James in a letter to the Commons of December 4 repeated Calvert's explanation, Sir Peter Heyman and William Mallory, who on the first of the month had been ordered to obtain a written declaration from Sandys, who still was

⁵⁸ This paragraph is based on *ibid.*, III, 389-93. *C.J.*, I, 635-36.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 639-40. But on November 14 the Houses adjourned themselves again to the twentieth. *Ibid.*, 640.

⁶⁰ McClure, *Letters of Chamberlain*, II, 384-85.

⁶¹ *Hist. of England*, IV, 133. Or, as the editors claim in A. B. White and Wallace Notestein, *Source Problems in English History* (New York, 1915), p. 211, Sandys "had been imprisoned for his efforts to defeat intrigues against the Virginia Company."

⁶² McClure, II, 390, 411. But Belasyse, in *C.D. 1621*, V, 206, says that Sandys said in his letter "that he received a discharge of his confinement the 15 of this present november."

ill, as to the reasons for his imprisonment, proceeded with their efforts until December 19, the last day of the session. Then it was ordered "that Sir Peter Hamond shall burne the paper he hath of Sir Edwin Sandes contayninge a declaration of his committment." This incident was, however, completely overshadowed by the great storm over freedom of speech which began to brew on the second day of the new session.⁶³

On that day, November 21, the two Houses were addressed by Lord Keeper Williams, as the king was supposedly ill at Newmarket. The speech contained a passage which did not please the Commons. They were told: "we should . . . avoid all long Harangues, all malicious or cunning Diversions; that we should not attend our domestic Business, till we had furnished and finished the Business of the Palatinate, and provided first to send speedily thither some Aid or Supply." The lord keeper told the Commons that his Majesty would like them to finish this business shortly before Christmas when they would be prorogued. They would meet in a new session on February 8, when they could discuss and settle their domestic affairs.⁶⁴ Williams was followed by Lord Digby, who elaborated on the military needs in the Palatinate and urged the Commons to grant a liberal supply. Then Lord Treasurer Cranfield, now a peer, rose and seconded Digby's appeal and entreated the members of the lower House to give as generously as possible.⁶⁵

The implications of the lord keeper's words were presented to the Commons two days later by Edward Alford. First, however, he declared that two proclamations, one of December 24, 1620, and the other of July 26, 1621, prevented them from speaking about Bohemia, the Palatinate, and affairs of state in general. Then, referring to the speeches of Williams, Digby, and Cranfield on November 21, Alford said, "and yet [his Majesty] hath again commanded by the Three Lords that we should not meddle but with the business of the Palatinate." With these proclamations and speeches in mind he continued, "That this is a Precedent wherein we are warily to proceed; for hereafter the King may else say, we shall meddle only with this or that Business, and not with other Things, and so we lose the Privilege of a free Parliament." Furthermore, Alford did not like it that they had been termed malicious and cunning.⁶⁶ When Secretary Calvert had made it clear that both

⁶³ This paragraph is based on *ibid.*, II, 483-86, 502, nn. 9, 10; III, 436-37; V, 245, 412. C.J., I, 654, 669 dated Dec. 18. [Sir Edward Nicholas], *Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons, 1620-1621, from an original manuscript at Queen's College, Oxford*, ed. Thomas Tyrwhitt (Oxford, 1766), II, 197-99, 200. Hereafter cited as Nicholas.

⁶⁴ Nicholas, II, 183-86, for lord keeper's speech. C.D. 1621, II, 433-35; IV, 423-25.

⁶⁵ Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, IV, 232-33.

⁶⁶ Nicholas, II, 197-98. C.D. 1621, III, 434-35.

proclamations were directed at talk in taverns and not in parliament, the Commons were less perturbed by Alford's fears about their privilege.

The debate on the great issue of the Palatinate began in the House on November 26, was continued on the next day, and on November 28 was carried into the committee of the whole. At first many advocated granting supply for the Palatinate. But under the influence of Sir Robert Phelips, Sir Edward Coke, and others, the demand for war against Spain, for the marriage of Prince Charles to one of his own faith, and for the strict enforcement of the penal laws against Catholics began to gain support from many in the House. Clearly the Commons were encroaching on the royal prerogative to control foreign affairs, which they had gently approached in 1607 but immediately backed away from when reminded of their trespass.⁶⁷ On the third day of debate it was finally decided to vote one subsidy, a beggarly sum, for the defense of the Palatinate and to prepare a "petition to the King about religion." On December 3 the Commons approved the petition and ordered that it be presented to the king by twelve members of the House.⁶⁸

In this petition the Commons asked King James to make war on Spain, to enforce the penal laws against Roman Catholics, and to see to it that "our most Noble Prince may be timely and happily married to one of our own Religion." In conclusion they said, "This is the summ and effect of our humble Declaration, which we (no ways intending to press upon your Majesties undoubted and Regal Prerogative) do with the fulness of our Duty and Obedience, humbly submit to your most Princely consideration."⁶⁹ This concluding sentence was omitted in an early draft but later was included before the petition reached the king.⁷⁰ The sentence shows that the Commons were afraid that they were encroaching on the royal prerogative and were trying to apologize for such daring.

Somehow Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, secured a copy of this document before it was sent to James. Immediately he wrote to the king, who was still at Newmarket. The ambassador was sure that his Majesty would punish the insolent Commons for daring to send such a petition to their sovereign. Such interference by a Spaniard with English parliamentary

⁶⁷ In that year because of Spanish attacks on English shipping the Commons through a petition requested that action be taken against Spain. When reminded by Salisbury and Northampton that they were trespassing on an established prerogative of the crown, the Commons submitted without protest. *C.J.*, I, 340-43, 384, 1021, 1053. Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, I, 349-54.

⁶⁸ This paragraph is based on *C.D. 1621*, II, 445-68, 474-98. *C.J.*, I, 647-49, 650, 652, 654, 655-58.

⁶⁹ John Rushworth, *Historical Collections* (London, 1659), I, 40-43. Hereafter cited as Rushworth.

⁷⁰ *C.D. 1621*, II, 498, 518 n. 1.

practice did not offend James. On the contrary, his growing displeasure with the House of Commons induced him to write a stinging letter to the Speaker before the petition had been presented to him.⁷¹ The Speaker read the king's letter to the Commons on December 4.⁷² His Majesty said that some of the members of the House were discussing matters which were "far above their reach and capacity" and which threatened his prerogative royal. He prohibited them from debating subjects which were virtually those they had mentioned in their petition. After referring to the imprisonment of Sir Edwin Sandys, he threatened to punish any member for "insolent behaviour" in the House. The king concluded his letter by informing the Commons that he would not hear their petition if it contained any of the topics he had forbidden them to discuss. When James was angry or felt himself in a strong position he could not and would not brook criticism of any kind. Under such conditions he was absolutism personified. As far as he was concerned there was no such thing as free speech in the House of Commons. To be sure, the members had left themselves open to some censure. But James was going much too far.

After the royal letter had been read three times, the Commons were so deeply disturbed that they could not proceed with their business. They adjourned for the rest of that December 4.⁷³

When they had assembled on the next day, one speaker after another deplored the king's letter in the strongest possible language. They excused themselves for dealing with such delicate topics guarded by the royal prerogative by declaring that the speeches of the three peers at the beginning of the session had encouraged them to discuss these subjects. But whether it was Phelips, Giles, More, Hakewill, or others, they all expressed great fear for the safety of their privilege of freedom of speech.⁷⁴ Something must be done, it was decided, to explain to the king, who had been misinformed, what it was the Commons intended to do, and also to protect their sacred privilege.

During the next day or so a remonstrance was composed by a subcommittee and reported to the committee of the whole. On December 7 the House received this document and approved it clause by clause. It was decided that the same twelve messengers who were to have presented the petition should now deliver the remonstrance to the king. They were also to take the petition with them and humbly request his Majesty to listen to

⁷¹ Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, IV, 248-49.

⁷² Rushworth, I, 43-44.

⁷³ *C.J.*, I, 658.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 658-59. Hakewill virtually quoted from the "Apology" of 1604.

both. Not until December 8 was the remonstrance ready to be presented to King James. The twelve members arrived at Newmarket on December 11 and found his Majesty in good spirits.⁷⁵

In their remonstrance the Commons said, "We humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would not hereafter give credit to private Reports, against all or any of the Members of our House, . . . untill your Majesty have been truly informed thereof from our selves."⁷⁶ Then they enumerated the various points which the three peers had presented to them at the beginning of the session, dealing with a possible war with Spain to recover the Palatinate, and went on to say that they had quickly got down to this business. They considered "that the honor and safety of your Majesty and your Posterity, the Patrimony of your Children invaded, and possessed by their enemies, the welfare of Religion, and State of your Kingdom" were matters fit for them to discuss, especially as they had been invited to do so. The Commons told James that they had no intention of encroaching on his royal authority and admitted that he had the power to make war or peace and to settle the marriage of his son. But because of their cares and fears they wanted to present their opinion on these subjects to their sovereign. They asked the king "to read and favorably interpret" their former petition. And then the Commons concluded that his letter to the Speaker had restrained them from meddling with matters of government, some of which were proper subjects for them to discuss. They resolved further: "whereas your Majesty doth seem to abridge us of the Antient Liberty of Parliament for Freedom of Speech, . . . the same being our antient and undoubted Right, and an Inheritance received from our Ancestors. . . . We are therefore now again inforced in all humbleness to pray your Majesty to allow the same. . . ." What the Commons were saying was that, though they had no intention of encroaching on the king's authority, they had the right to discuss certain controversial subjects, which they admitted were in the king's power to settle, especially as several peers had encouraged their discussion.⁷⁷ Such a claim hardly fitted the precedents of the immediate past. And it was not acceptable to King James.

On the same day that the "ambassadors" from the Commons presented

⁷⁵ This paragraph is based on *C.J.*, I, 659-60, 661. McClure, II, 414. This is when James is reported to have said: "Bring stools for the ambassadors."

⁷⁶ Rushworth, I, 44-46.

⁷⁷ Williams, Cranfield, and especially Digby had given details of the situation in the Palatinate, more than had been given by the government in the past on such a subject, which the Commons interpreted as an invitation to a discussion. Actually the details were given with the thought that they would encourage the Commons to make a most generous grant of supply but would not lead them to debate such a forbidden topic.

their remonstrance, the king wrote an extremely long-winded reply.⁷⁸ Though he had refused to read the petition which the messengers had brought with the remonstrance, he had seen a copy, he said, which had been sent to him by Prince Charles.⁷⁹ "In the Body of your Petition," he wrote, "you usurp upon our Prerogative Royal, and meddle with things far above your reach, and then in conclusion you protest the contrary." He added that this sentence was not in the first copy he had seen but was attached to the petition brought by the messengers. Even though James said that he would not read the petition or reply to it, he had actually read both versions and now made a reply.

The greatest part of the king's long answer, however, concerned the remonstrance. He used many words to describe the situation on the Continent and his own reactions to it. He justified his actions in regard to the Bohemian crisis, the Spanish invasion of the Palatinate, and his treatment of the king of Spain. And he defined his policy toward the papists in England in a way which must have satisfied the moderates in religion but hardly the rabid Puritans in the House of Commons.

The last paragraph of the king's answer is by far the most important part of it and was responsible for continuing the struggle over freedom of speech and that at a much hotter pace. Had it been omitted or had it been differently worded, the issue might not have reached a climax in this parliament. In it he stubbornly refused to admit that the Commons' privilege was an "antient and undoubted Right and Inheritance." He and his predecessors had granted freedom of speech; therefore, he implied, he could deprive the Commons of that privilege. This implication was not weakened in the slightest by the king's assurance that he would maintain privileges. In the next breath James attached as a condition to the guarantee of freedom of speech that the Commons should not infringe his prerogative. Throughout his answer the king showed that he felt the Commons had done just that in discussing foreign affairs, religion, and the prince's marriage.⁸⁰ To reconcile the two points of view on the source of the Commons' privilege appeared to be impossible unless both sides were willing to make some concessions. Both clearly saw the issue and refused to be moved. But the conflict between privilege and prerogative was not as yet understood by most of the members of the lower

⁷⁸ Rushworth, I, 46-52.

⁷⁹ *C.D.* 1621, V, 238.

⁸⁰ Especially when, after summarizing the objectionable points of the petition, he says: "These are unfit things to be handled in Parliament, except your King should require it of you." There was the trouble. The Commons seemed to feel that the speeches of the three peers at the beginning of the session were made at the request of the king. Therefore, the king had actually encouraged them to discuss affairs concerning the Palatinate. But James did not feel that these speeches in any way gave the Commons such permission.

House. The king saw it; the Commons were on the verge of seeing it. An impasse was in the making.

The king's answer to the remonstrance of the Commons was read in the House on Friday, December 14. It made a favorable impression on the members. Phelips' remarks were typical of the discussion: "If the King's Answer to our Petition doth not strike the Affection and Soul of every Member of this House, he knoweth not what will." But the feeling of those who spoke was that a discussion of the king's answer should be postponed until the next morning. And so it was decided.⁸¹

After a night of contemplation a great many members had something to say; and the tone was not nearly so favorable to the king's answer as it had been on the previous day. In a long debate, in which most of the leaders participated, it was universally agreed that in matters of policy the royal reply to their remonstrance was entirely acceptable. But opinion on freedom of speech was just as uniform. The Commons refused to acknowledge that this privilege was granted to them and insisted that it was inherited from their ancestors. The king, they felt, must somehow be informed of this interpretation. There was very little if any mention of a conflict between the royal prerogative and the privileges of the Commons. A good deal of debate arose over the form in which the opinion of the House should be presented to the king and where it should be prepared. Eventually it was decided, under the guidance of Sir Edward Coke and John Glanville, to discuss both matter and form in committee of the whole on the morning of Monday, December 17. Though no decision was reached on the point, it was fairly obvious on that Saturday that the Commons would state their views on the source of their privilege in the form of a protestation.⁸²

Knowing that the king was likely to take steps before a protestation could be prepared, Lord Keeper Williams wrote on Sunday, December 16, to the marquis of Buckingham, who was attending his Majesty at Royston. In his letter Williams spoke of the conflicting views of the king and Commons over the source of the privileges of the Commons.⁸³ Such views he felt "might be easily reconciled." "These Priviledges," he declared, "were originally the Favors of Princes, and are now inherent in their Persons." By the last two words he undoubtedly meant the Commons. Thereupon the lord keeper gave King James through Buckingham a bit of advice. "If his Majesty," he wrote,

⁸¹ Nicholas, II, 328-29. *C.D.* 1621, II, 520. *C.J.*, I, 663.

⁸² This paragraph is based on *ibid.*, pp. 664-66. *C.D.* 1621, II, 521-28; V, 238-40; VI, 237-40.

⁸³ *Cabala, sive Scrinia: Mysteries of State and Government in Letters* (London, 1691), pp. 263-64.

"will be pleased to qualifie that Passage with some mild and noble Exposition, and require them strictly to prepare things for a Session," then it will be seen that if the Commons refuse to co-operate, they will be held to be clearly in the wrong. That James saw Williams' letter, or that this advice was transmitted to him before he wrote a letter of his own to his faithful Commons, is questionable. That he failed to profit by the counsel tendered him is obvious.

On Monday, December 17, before the Commons could get under way in committee of the whole, Secretary Calvert asked the Speaker to read the royal letter which had reached him early that morning.⁸⁴ In it James said that he could not permit his subjects to use "such anti-monarchical words" as to claim that the privilege of free speech was their ancient inherited right and not granted them by "the grace and favor of our predecessors."⁸⁵ He continued and concluded with honeyed words about not depriving them of their privileges, about always upholding them and even increasing them. The Commons must have recognized the familiar hollow ring of such language. At the same time they saw that James had not budged an inch.

The debate, which was carried on in the House and not in committee, showed that the Commons were not influenced in any way by this communication from their sovereign. Sir Edward Coke, like many others, insisted that their liberties were inherited and should now be presented to his Majesty in detail. The word "anti-monarchical" stuck in the throats of many of the members. Many asked that they proceed with their protestation. They determined to proceed in committee of the whole on the next morning.⁸⁶ The only effect of the king's letter was to produce a twenty-four-hour delay.

Before the Commons could carry out their plan on the morning of Tuesday, December 18, the Speaker declared that he had yet another letter from his Majesty.⁸⁷ This time James's request was simple, but it carried a crafty implication. He asked the members of the lower House to pass a bill for the continuance of statutes and to approve the general pardon, which would be sent to them, before the end of the session that Saturday. To make matters easier he said he would forgo the subsidy, which they had voted him, until the next session. But if they did not heed this warning and proceed immediately with these urgent matters, he said, the end would be an adjournment and not a prorogation. The Commons would have a longer holiday, to

⁸⁴ As is mentioned in Calvert's letter to Buckingham written on Dec. 17, *C.D.* 1621, VII, 627.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 529.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 530-34; VI, 240-44, 331-36. *C.J.*, I, 666-67.

⁸⁷ *C.D.* 1621, II, 534-36.

be sure, but they would not be able to tell their constituents during the Christmas recess of any good laws they had passed. James was now trying to bribe as well as threaten his Commons in the gentlest possible language.

This communication in no way perturbed the members. To be sure, Thomas Crew saw what the king was trying to do: "This letter is oil," he said, "and that we deal not in our privileges now, then when we come again."⁸⁸ Many felt that there was not enough time left to pass the bill for continuance of statutes and to approve the pardon. But all wanted formal thanks sent to his Majesty for his gracious letter, and so it was ordered.

While a subcommittee was preparing a reply which expressed the loyalty and thanks of the Commons for the king's most recent letter,⁸⁹ many members began to suggest "heads" for the protestation. It was obvious that a number of these heads would come directly into conflict with the prerogative. Sir Edward Coke proposed that they present particular, not general, privileges which had been violated.⁹⁰ Phelips declared that the king was bound to maintain their privileges just as he was obliged to uphold the law. He wanted the Commons to examine the "Apology," the bill which was to have been reported by Glanville on February 15 in the first session of this parliament, and the petition they had prepared for the king on December 3.⁹¹ As he expressed it, "We are not Frehoulders but tenants at will if the king cann punishe in parliament or after a member of this howse for free speech." As might be expected, Sir Thomas Wentworth was explicit. He did not want any mention of peace and war or the prince's marriage. The remonstrance presented to his Majesty on December 11 had already dealt with these delicate and dangerous subjects. But he suggested that the protestation make known their opposition to the king's claim that he had the power to punish the Commons for speaking freely.⁹² Once again Coke rose and insisted that they should state in their protestation that they had freedom of speech "concerninge the state of the Realme, and the Church of England, and for the mischeifes and greivances that happen or are in the kingdome."⁹³ More heads were proposed until finally six main directives were presented for the sub-

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 536. James knew that the Commons had short memories. By the time they had reassembled after the Christmas recess they might have forgotten about their protestation.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 537; VI, 340.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 537; VI, 245, 340.

⁹¹ This seems to be what he meant, as can be seen by comparing the versions of his speech given in *ibid.*, II, 538, and VI, 340. See also *ibid.*, VI, 245.

⁹² *Ibid.*, II, 538; V, 242-43; VI, 245, 341.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, VI, 342. This is Howard, who also reports that Coke continued: "Peace and warr and marriage not to touch upon. Anything concerning the king, the defense and state of the kingdome, and good of the Church." On the other hand, according to diary X, *ibid.*, II, 541, Coke said that they could speak about war, peace, and marriage. But Nicholas, II, 358, says: "would not have us . . . to meddle with War or Marriage."

committee which was to prepare the protestation.⁹⁴ These directives were closely followed by that committee. It got to work immediately and presented the protestation to the committee of the whole before noon. In the afternoon Mr. Speaker took the chair and Serjeant Ashley reported the Great Protestation, as it has been called, to the House. By five o'clock it was approved and ordered to be entered on the records of the House of Commons.⁹⁵ It declared that the liberties and privileges of parliament were an ancient, inherited right of Englishmen.⁹⁶ In parliament they could discuss "the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the King, State, and Defence of the Realm, and of the Church of England, and the maintenance and making of Lawes, and redress of mischiefs and grievances which daily happen within this Realm." The members of the House, it continued, should be free to speak on all these subjects without punishment of any kind "other than by Censure of the House itself."

The claim of the Commons concerning the different matters about which they could speak was broad indeed. According to their instructions the committee had stated the case in generalities rather than in particulars. That gave the Commons such scope as to enable them to discuss in detail any topics they might wish to bring up. In other words the assertion of freedom of speech in the Great Protestation was all-inclusive. It is obvious that this privilege was now in direct conflict with the royal prerogative.

That the Commons had thrown a challenge at the feet of King James nobody can deny. That as far as their privileges are concerned the Commons had finally taken a revolutionary step in the light of accepted Elizabethan constitutional practices is also obvious. The "Apology" of 1604 was defensive but at the same time took up new positions unwarranted by the past. The petition of right of 1610, on the other hand, had rather the aspect of an offensive action of a limited scope based on fairly substantial legal precedents. But the Great Protestation was initiated as a defensive act by the Commons which led them into making offensive statements more revolutionary than any claims they had ever made before. In 1604 the Commons did not know what they wanted to talk about. By 1621 they had a good idea as to just what they wished to discuss in the House.

After the Great Protestation had been recorded late on December 18 in the *Journals* of the House, the Commons on the next day, after disposing of a few items of business, adjourned at the order of the king until February 8.

⁹⁴ *C.D.* 1621, VI, 342-43. Unfortunately the members of the subcommittee are not given in any source. One suspects that either or both Coke and Wentworth were members.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 418. *C.J.*, I, 668.

⁹⁶ Rushworth, I, 53.

King James did not permit the actions of his Commons to trouble him during the Christmas festivities. On December 30 he took action. Surrounded by his council and judges at Whitehall, he called for the *Journals* of the House and with his own hand tore out the page on which was written the offending Protestation. James now felt that he was truly a king. He had demonstrated his strength. He had destroyed a written precedent in support of freedom of speech and against his prerogative. Instead of permitting these same Commons to meet again, James was so angry with them that on January 6 by proclamation he dissolved his third parliament. In his proclamation James said that the Commons "had disputed on 'words and syllables of' his letters, and they had claimed, 'in ambiguous and general words', privileges which derogated from the rights of the Crown, possessed not only in the time of earlier kings, 'but in the blessed reign of' his 'late predecessor, that renowned Queen, Elizabeth.'" James clearly saw that privileges and prerogative were in direct conflict.⁹⁷

In the meantime the king had taken action, typical of him, which would have deeply stirred the Commons. On December 27 he had Sir Edward Coke imprisoned in the Tower. He was imprisoned, in spite of an early report to the contrary, for what he had said and done in parliament in support of the privilege of free speech. At the beginning of the new year Sir Robert Phelips and Sir James Mallory were called before the council for the same reason. On the twelfth of that month Phelips was imprisoned and Mallory a few days later. Likewise Pym was confined to his home in London and later to his country house for words he had used in parliament. By the following August the prisoners were at liberty, but the damage had been done. Freedom of speech in the House of Commons had been most flagrantly violated. King James might still say that the Commons had freedom of speech; but in actuality they could talk only on those subjects permitted by the king.⁹⁸

The privilege of free speech was again brought into prominence in the wake of changing Anglo-Spanish relations. In the autumn of 1623, Prince Charles and the duke of Buckingham, after a visit to Madrid, returned to England without the infanta as the bride of the prince and with the determination that England should make war on Spain. Poor James was in a dilemma. He did not want war. With the control of the government slipping out of his hands and into those of the favorite and Prince Charles, James

⁹⁷ This paragraph is based on *C.D. 1621*, V, 246. Rushworth, I, 53-54, 55. Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, IV, 265, 268.

⁹⁸ This paragraph is based on *ibid.*, IV, 267. McClure, II, 421. *The Court and Times of James I* (London, 1848), II, 283.

could only resort to a parliament and place the issue before the Lords and particularly the Commons.

In his predicament as to what to do with Spain and the Palatinate, James forgot his prerogative, forgot his prohibitions during the last parliament, and on February 19, 1624, addressed the two Houses: "Give me," he requested, "your free and faithful counsels in the matter I propose, of which you have often heard, the Match of my Son." "I desire your best assistance to advise me what is best and fittest for me to do for the good of the Commonwealth, and the advancement of Religion, and the good of my Son and my Grandchildren of the Palatine," he continued. Touching a sore spot he declared, "and I would also remove from your thoughts all jealousies, that I might, or ever did question or infringe any of your lawful Liberties or Priviledges; but, I protest before God, I ever intended you should enjoy the fulness of all those that former Times give good warrant and testimony of, which, if need be, I will enlarge and amplifie." And in closing, "I pray God your Counsels may advance Religion and the Publick weal, and the good of me and my Children."⁹⁹

The king had indeed enlarged and amplified the Commons' privilege of freedom of speech. He now permitted them, nay urged them, to speak freely on all those vital subjects, foreign affairs, religion, and the prince's marriage, which he had declared in the last parliament to be under his prerogative and not even to be mentioned by the Commons. They were now free to speak on any subject. They had freedom of speech in practice. That is what they wanted. James had established such a powerful precedent, without realizing what he was doing, that the Commons could never again be stopped by the king from discussing any topic they pleased.

Let us see first whether the Commons realized what good fortune had befallen them. Then let us take a fleeting glance at subsequent events and see how freely the Commons spoke in spite of what the king might do. That should prove the strength of the precedent of 1624.

When the Commons got down to business there was no mention of privileges. They said nothing about the king's destruction of their Protestation. No cry was raised over the imprisonment of Coke, Phelps, and others in 1621-1622. Not until Sir John Eliot delivered his maiden speech on February 27¹⁰⁰ was the immediate past brought to the attention of the members of the lower House. Eliot delivered a long and confused address, the gist of which was that he wanted the Great Protestation replaced by a

⁹⁹ Rushworth, I, 115-17.

¹⁰⁰ Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *An Apology for Socrates and Negotium Posterorum: by Sir John Eliot* (London, privately printed, 1881), I, Supp., 130-39. C.J., I, 719.

petition on the privileges of the Commons, in which the right of freedom of speech was to be stated as clearly as it had been in the previous parliament.

As one diarist expressed it, "divers were afraid this motion would have put the House into some such heat as to disturb the greater business." Edward Alford, wise in the ways of that body, agreed with Eliot but felt the time inopportune for such a petition. It would be better, he said, to appoint a select committee to prepare a bill for the preservation of their liberties. Only Sir Francis Seymour supported Eliot's proposal. Phelips, Coke, and Sir James Perrot all spoke in favor of Alford's proposition. It was natural to expect bitterness and a demand for some retribution from the first two, for they had suffered imprisonment as a result of the Great Protestation. Instead they counseled moderation. In this they evidently expressed the feeling of the majority of the House. A select committee of fifteen was named to discuss what might be done with the privileges of the Commons. Though Eliot was one of the fifteen, the subject was not again brought before the Commons in this parliament.¹⁰¹

When Eliot made his plea, the situation had changed and his words fell on deaf ears. The Commons were no longer interested in defining their privilege of free speech and securing it in theory when they had it in practice. The king's permission to speak freely on all subjects which in the past had been taboo had thrown the door of this privilege wide open. A petition, such as Eliot suggested, might make it swing back and forth to the discomfort of both sides. In his proposal he was either ignoring the present or was ignorant of the changed situation in the House and was thinking only of its future safety. But his colleagues were opportunists, were satisfied with the gain of the moment, and were anxious to let sleeping dogs lie.

In 1625, with Charles I on the throne, the Commons in his first parliament spoke so freely against the duke of Buckingham that the king's only resort was a dissolution. Again in 1626 the Commons stormed against the favorite, and in spite of royal reprimands proceeded to impeach the duke. Even the brief imprisonment of Eliot and Digges for language they had used against Buckingham did not deter the Commons in the slightest. In June, 1628, profuse tears were shed by the Commons after Eliot was stopped by the Speaker in the midst of a speech, but these were quickly brushed away when they realized that they could denounce the government and the favorite to their

¹⁰¹ This paragraph is based on *ibid.*, pp. 719-20. Edward Nicholas' Parliamentary Note Book, Feb. 19 to May 29, 1624, *State Papers, Domestic Series, James I*, CLXVI. The Diary of John Pym for 1624, Additional MS. 26639. Transcripts of these diaries were kindly loaned to me some years ago by Wallace Notestein, emeritus Sterling professor of English history at Yale University.

hearts' content in committee of the whole. On March 2, 1629, Sir John Eliot and several of his colleagues were arrested for language they had used in the House. The damage to free speech caused by their condemnation in the Court of King's Bench was canceled out by Eliot's death in the Tower in 1632 as a martyr to freedom of speech.¹⁰² Finally, in 1689, the Bill of Rights assured the Commons freedom of speech. It stated "that the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament." There is not a word here about the king's not interfering. In 1624 James I had permitted the Commons free speech potentially on all subjects. Since then every attempt at direct interference had failed.

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¹⁰² Nine members had been arrested. Five made their peace with the king. Only four were tried and condemned by the Court of King's Bench. For the details of the fight to preserve freedom of speech in the reign of Charles I, see my forthcoming life of Sir John Eliot.

The Movement for an Aggressive American Oil Policy Abroad, 1918-1920

JOHN A. DENOVO

BETWEEN 1918 and 1920 the United States became enmeshed in a bitter international rivalry for control of the world's promising oil fields. Contributing to this discord was the remarkably swift transition during these years in the American attitude toward foreign oil resources. As late as the American entry into World War I in 1917 only an occasional American saw any connection between remote petroleum deposits and the nation's security and foreign policy. Yet within three years this indifference had given way to a concern which produced anxious attempts in Washington to ensure American access to oil resources in distant places. This switch in attitude from apathy to alarm deserves an explanation. The major aims here are, first, to analyze the forces creating the ferment within the United States for a more aggressive oil policy abroad and, second, to assess the response of the executive and legislative branches in Washington to the pressures for a stronger foreign oil policy.¹

Just prior to the war, the logic of technology compelled the major naval powers to begin the conversion of their fleets from coal to oil. Two leading naval powers, Great Britain and the United States, faced the problem of petroleum supplies from different points of view and emerged with contrasting policies.²

Because Great Britain, still mistress of the seas and pioneer in naval conversion to oil, lacked adequate petroleum within her empire, she had to seek dependable supplies elsewhere, especially in Persia. Under the leadership of First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill, the British government entered the oil business indirectly by purchasing controlling shares in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and used the power and prestige of the Foreign

¹ This paper does not attempt a detailed coverage of the *substance* of the Anglo-American diplomatic discord over petroleum exploitation in the former Ottoman Empire, although some references are necessarily made to this important phase of the postwar oil problem. More detailed treatment of the diplomatic aspects is to be found in my "Petroleum and American Diplomacy in the Near East, 1908-1928," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University Library. A serviceable secondary account is Benjamin Shwadran, *The Middle East, Oil and the Great Powers* (New York, 1955), see especially pp. 204-48 and 403-408.

² For elaboration with documentation of this and the next two paragraphs, see John A. DeNovo, "Petroleum and the United States Navy before World War I," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLI (March, 1955), 641-56.

Office to fashion that company into an instrument for strengthening the government's oil position.

The United States, although more timid than Great Britain in committing its navy to oil fuel, occupied a more favorable supply position by virtue of abundant petroleum reserves within its own borders and in the hands of American interests in nearby Mexico. Prewar American diplomacy therefore did not concern itself with encouraging Americans to seek oil concessions in distant areas such as the Near and Middle East.³ Instead, American policy placed faith in the proposed conservation of what were then regarded as adequate domestic resources, together with the laying aside of oil lands as emergency naval reserves. When the Navy Department proposed in 1913 that the United States government enter the oil business, it could enlist little support.

World War I drastically altered the official American apathy toward remote oil regions, especially the promising areas of the Near and Middle East. The war emphatically demonstrated that petroleum was an indispensable fuel and lubricant for the national defense and economy of any modern industrial nation. Not only did petroleum propel the newest and fastest war vessels but it also provided the fuel essential to the operation of such military innovations as the submarine, the tank, and the airplane. Oil-fed trucks and autos played a military role in the fighting, while petroleum was even a basic constituent of TNT. Because so many of the wheels and weapons of war depended on petroleum, which could possibly make the difference between victory and defeat in the field, it followed that those responsible for conducting the war were obliged to give closer attention to the problem of oil supplies.⁴ For the first time, an adequate oil supply became a prime consideration in the military and diplomatic strategy of all the belligerents.⁵

³ Before 1914 American interests actually produced oil in only two foreign countries—Mexico and Rumania. There was some extension of foreign operations during the war years, but the United States government had little or no connection with these pioneer ventures into the foreign oil field. Leonard M. Fanning, *American Oil Operations Abroad* (New York and London, 1947), p. 2. The Standard Oil group engaged in complex and far-flung marketing activities together with usually unsuccessful efforts to inaugurate American production in the Far East and Europe before 1912. See Ralph W. Hidy and Muriel E. Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business, 1882-1911* (New York, 1955), the first volume in the Business History Foundation, Inc., *History of Standard Oil Company* (New Jersey), edited by Henrietta Larson, *passim*, especially pp. 258, 259-68, 494, 496-503, 509-12, 515-21, 529.

⁴ Rear Admiral Philip Dumas told the British Institution of Petroleum Geologists: "This has been a war waged largely on oil. The next one will be wholly so and Bismarck's dictum of 'blood and iron' brought up to date will read 'blood and oil.'" Quoted in the *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (Dec. 26, 1919), 80.

⁵ The Secretary of the Interior in *Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1915* (Washington, 1916), I, 40; Victor Ross, *The Evolution of the Oil Industry* (Garden City, 1920), pp. 129-38, 143-46; E. H. Davenport and Sidney Russell Cooke, *The Oil Trusts and Anglo-American Relations* (London, 1923), pp. 32-33; Herbert Feis, *Petroleum and American Foreign Policy* (Stanford University, 1944), p. 3; Herbert Feis, *Seen from E. A.: Three International*

Wartime Washington had ample opportunity to comprehend how vital petroleum was in the prosecution of the war. At various times during the war, the lack of adequate supplies had severely handicapped both the Allies and the Central Powers. The German submarines took a heavy toll of tankers bringing vital fuel from the Western Hemisphere, but these same submarines owed their very existence to oil, in which Germany was dangerously deficient. Their toll of Allied and Associated tankers was, nevertheless, sufficiently high so that an oil shortage nearly immobilized the British home fleet in 1917.⁶

Alarmingly low fuel reserves in France also threatened the Allies. The dwindling supplies led Clemenceau to send a dramatic message to President Wilson warning him that the French Army must not for a moment be exposed to a petroleum shortage. He cautioned: "The safety of the Allied nations is in the balance. If the Allies do not wish to lose the war, then, at the moment of the great German offensive, they must not let France lack the petrol which is as necessary as blood in the battles of to-morrow."⁷

To deal with the serious petroleum shortage, the Allies and the United States established effective liaison machinery through which the American refineries supplied eighty per cent of the Allied war requirements for petroleum products.⁸ The gargantuan efforts of the American oil industry, organized voluntarily under the National Petroleum War Service Committee, saved the Allies from possible catastrophe.⁹

These war experiences produced a fuller realization of the new role of petroleum in national defense. Whereas naval planners, chiefly, had sensed the new relationship before the war, now army men, civil servants, a part of the oil industry, and even segments of the general public gradually became convinced that the government must take action which would assure ade-

Episodes (New York, 1947), pp. 93-94; Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement* (Garden City, 1922), II, 284.

⁶ Davenport and Cooke, pp. 29-31; Feis, *Petroleum and American Foreign Policy*, p. 5; *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (July 4, 1919), 60.

⁷ Clemenceau to Wilson, Dec. 15, 1917, quoted in Davenport and Cooke, p. 32. See also the British Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* (Barclay) to the Secretary of State (Lansing), Aug. 22, 1918, in the Department of State Archives, National Archives, Washington, D. C. (hereafter cited as DS), file 800.6363/1.

⁸ For details, see the *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (June 6, 1919), 62-64; (Sept. 19, 1919), 3; Davenport and Cooke, pp. 30-31, 71-72; and William J. Kennitzer, *Rebirth of Monopoly: A Critical Analysis of Economic Conduct in the Petroleum Industry of the United States* (New York and London, 1938), pp. 17-18; Consul General in London (Skinner) to the Secretary of State, July 10, 1919, DS 841.6363/9.

⁹ Kennitzer, pp. 17-18. The British commissioner to the United States, Lord Northcliffe, commended the American oil industry for its excellent results and for its unselfishness in keeping prices down instead of squeezing out larger profits as might have been done under the circumstances. Feis, *Petroleum and American Foreign Policy*, p. 5; Davenport and Cooke, pp. 30-31. For a contrary view, see Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era: Years of War and After, 1917-1923* (Chapel Hill, 1946), p. 139; and Kennitzer, chap. 4, *passim*.

quate supplies of oil fuel to feed the industrial and national defense machinery in case of future emergency.¹⁰

Coincident with this growing awareness of the indispensability of petroleum, the inadequate supply prospects for the United States sharpened the anxiety. Geologists who appraised the domestic petroleum supply gloomily predicted that it was inadequate for the future needs of the nation. According to most informed estimates, the known oil fields in the United States would last less than thirty years at the prevailing rate of consumption. Those departments of the government whose function it was to watch over the nation's resources had been warning for some time that the United States had better make provisions for its future oil supply. Such admonitions came, for example, from officials of the Interior Department and two of its agencies, the Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines. The Secretary of the Interior cautioned in 1915 that the known available supply of petroleum in the United States would be exhausted in about twenty-three years, or by 1937, at the current rate of consumption and export. The Geological Survey had taken action between 1914 and 1916 by trying to encourage the location and development of new domestic oil pools.¹¹

At first these warnings made little impression, and it was not until the end of the war that their implications began to penetrate.¹² Just as the pessimistic estimates of the experts were producing their sobering effect, reports that Great Britain had moved a long way toward controlling promising petroleum resources of the future served to nourish American apprehensions.

The bad blood between the two recent allies engendered by the oil controversy cannot be explained adequately without some appreciation of the postwar American attitude toward Europe. The great letdown following the great crusade of 1917-1918 provided an atmosphere for strengthening atavistic American tendencies toward isolationist nationalism and xenophobia. Many Americans, resenting Europe's ingratitude for the decisive American contribution to winning the war, concluded that the United States must maintain its freedom of action in the international sphere. They argued that the

¹⁰ Davenport and Cooke, p. 33; Edward M. Earle, "International Financial Control of Raw Materials," *International Conciliation*, no. 226, p. 48.

¹¹ *Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1915*, I, 40, 181; *Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1916* (Washington, 1917), I, 368, 545; Mark Requa, "Petroleum Resources of the United States," Feb. 21, 1916, *Senate Document 363*, 64 Cong., 1 sess. (Washington, 1916), pp. 3, 14-15, 18. Although "experts" made these unfavorable supply forecasts, the technology of petroleum geology had not yet advanced to the point where less inaccurate estimates were possible. For an excellent recent treatment of the problem of estimating oil reserves, see Bernard Brodie, "Foreign Oil and American Security," *Memorandum No. 23*, Yale Institute of International Studies (New Haven, 1947), pp. 9-13.

¹² Concerning his warnings issued in 1915 and 1916, Mark Requa (see below, p. 862) wrote later: "The result was as effective as if it had been an attempt to stop the blowing of the wind!" Requa to Alvey A. Adee, May 13, 1920, DS 800.6363/112.

United States had the strength to deal single-handedly with the rest of the world. Among the circumstances contributing to the developing disillusionment over the recent association with the European Allies were the bitter wrangles at the Versailles Peace Conference; American criticisms of British colonial policies in India, the Near East, and elsewhere; and the subsequent acrimonious debate in the United States over the League of Nations.¹³

In addition to these corroding factors, financial, naval, and commercial competition produced additional tensions in Anglo-American relations. The war had weakened Britain's financial position, and it was humiliating to Englishmen to see the world's financial leadership shifting from London to New York.¹⁴ At the same time, the avowed American program of at least matching British naval power seemed strange if not hostile to Englishmen. It was more than mere pride in maintaining their long tradition of naval supremacy that led the British to raise questions about American intentions. With the German naval threat removed, the naval plans of the United States appeared quite out of harmony with the country's defense needs. Naturally, the uneasy conclusion reached in England was that American naval strength presented a potential threat to Great Britain.¹⁵

For many Americans, this expanded naval program was indeed pointed indirectly at Great Britain—that is, against British commercial primacy. In a surge of postwar nationalism, they argued that because the United States had made such decisive contributions to the Allied victory, it deserved a dominant commercial position.¹⁶ With Germany temporarily removed as a formidable competitor, Great Britain was the major obstacle to American commercial aspirations. Even President Wilson wrote of the British threat: "It is evident to me that we are on the eve of a commercial war of the severest sort, and I am afraid that Great Britain will prove capable of as great commercial savagery as Germany has displayed for so many years in her com-

¹³ Foster Rhea Dulles, *America's Rise to World Power, 1898-1954* (New York, 1955), pp. 117-19, 144-45.

¹⁴ Report of Philip B. Kennedy, director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, in *Reports of the Department of Commerce, 1919* (Washington, 1920), pp. 291-92.

¹⁵ John W. Davis to Frank L. Polk, Jan. 4, 1919, Polk MSS, Yale University Library; Harold and Margaret Sprout, *Toward a New Order of Sea Power: American Naval Policy and the World Scene, 1918-1922* (Princeton, 1940), chaps. 3 and 4, *passim*. The program developed in 1916 for a "navy second to none" was devised while the German threat still figured prominently in American calculations. *Ibid.*, p. 36. In the United States, resentment was on the rise against Great Britain because of her association in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance with the potential enemy of the United States in the Far East. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83, 93.

¹⁶ Senator Stephen B. Elkins expressed this point of view when he said: "It is manifest destiny that the United States shall dispute this supremacy [British] and with its position and advantages control not only its own but the larger part of the carrying trade of the world." Quoted in Paul Maxwell Zeis, *American Shipping Policy* (Princeton, 1938), p. 115. See also *Oil and Gas Journal*, XIX (Jan. 1, 1921), 2.

petitive methods.”¹⁷ The notion prevailed that American commercial expansion must rest on the foundations of strong naval power to back up the expanded American merchant marine and foreign trade.¹⁸ Spread-eagle oratory in the United States on this theme could hardly be expected to receive a warm reception in British commercial circles, for American aims promised to conflict with British ambitions for strengthening their commercial dominance by taking over Germany’s prewar trade.

When several highly placed Englishmen, some in official positions, made intemperate boasts about British successes in gaining control of the world’s oil reserves, their comments produced a sharp anti-British reaction in the United States. Repeated disavowals by the British government and oil spokesmen of any plan to monopolize oil resources could not dispel the mistrust of British intentions and the feeling that their design was to place the United States in an inferior position.¹⁹

One widely noticed British statement which did much to feed American fears came from the British oil executive, Sir Edward Mackay Edgar, who wrote in *Sperling’s Journal* of London for September, 1919, that the United States was rapidly running through its domestic oil and would have to depend soon on foreign sources.²⁰ A few months later, Edgar wrote optimistically in the *London Times* that Britain had cornered future world oil supplies, and within a decade the United States would have to buy 5,000,000 barrels annually from Britain. He boasted: “What it comes to, therefore, is that with [the] exception of Mexico, and to a lesser extent Central America, the outer world is securely barred against an American invasion in force. The British position is impregnable.”²¹ The American trade organ, the *Oil and Gas Journal*, considered Edgar’s prediction as “revealing a sort of poorly restrained antipathy” but thanked him for confirming American suspicions as to the real British intentions: “The cards are placed on the table and the world is invited to look them over and to laugh at the chagrin of American oil men.”²² Even more arrogant was a high British official, Walter Hume Long,

¹⁷ Woodrow Wilson to Frank L. Polk, Mar. 4, 1920; see also Rear Admiral Mark L. Bristol to Frank L. Polk, Nov. 10, 1919, both in Frank L. Polk MSS, Yale University Library.

¹⁸ Zeis, pp. 116–17; Sprout and Sprout, pp. 48, 76–77; Office of Naval Intelligence, Navy Department, *The United States Navy as an Industrial Asset* (Washington, 1923), pp. 4–7; Davenport and Cooke, pp. 73–77; *Oil and Gas Journal*, XIX (July 9, 1920), 3.

¹⁹ *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (May 28, 1920), 73; XIX (June 4, 1920), 2; (July 2, 1920), 3; (Aug. 6, 1920), 2; (Aug. 13, 1920), 2; (Aug. 20, 1920), 2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XVIII (Oct. 31, 1919), 68–69; (Dec. 12, 1919), 3.

²¹ Quoted in *ibid.*, XVIII (Apr. 23, 1920), 79; see also report from Consul General in London (Robert P. Skinner) to the Secretary of State, Apr. 19, 1920, based on an article by Edgar in the *London Sunday Times* for Apr. 18, 1920, DS 841.6363/43.

²² *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (Apr. 30, 1920), 2.

First Lord of the Admiralty, who told the Institution of Petroleum Technologists at London that "if we secure the supplies of oil now available in the world we can do what we like."²³

Prominent British spokesmen continued to make similar unrestrained remarks. As late as October 17, 1921, A. Beeby Thompson, one of England's greatest oil specialists, rejoiced before the London Chamber of Commerce that Britain had sat on her oil resources while the United States was bestowing her oil treasures lavishly and generously. At the same time, he observed, the British had scoured the world for new sources of supply while Americans had rested content with their home resources. Thompson concluded: "The fact remains that America has skimmed the cream of her oil wealth at a period when prices were low, while we enter the world's market with our flush production when the value of oil is appreciated and prices are high."²⁴

While such extreme statements were doing their mischief, the policies of the British government added weight to the arguments of those who thought they saw a conscious British plot directed against American security. According to reports received in the United States, the British were furthering their new policy by laws and administrative regulations barring Americans from coveted foreign oil fields. Although the United States charged several nations with unequal treatment, the chief offender was Great Britain. Appraising the situation for his superiors, acting Consul General Stanley Hollis in London concluded that the British government would act vigorously to keep aliens out of oil properties both in the British dominions and in foreign neutral countries. Hollis concluded: "This will be the fixed policy of the [British] government in the future."²⁵

This and similar reports from American diplomatic and consular officials in the field naturally heightened State Department suspicions of British intentions and led to a nervous scanning of any bit of evidence which would clarify British objectives. For instance, there was anxious conjecture about rumors that the British government was establishing a permanent petroleum ministry based on their effective wartime organization which had utilized the talents of the nation's great commercial oil minds.²⁶ That the British should want to continue such a useful collaboration was not unnatural, but the

²³ The Secretary of State (by W. J. Carr) to Consul General in London (Skinner), Mar. 30, 1920, DS 841.6363/30A; Consul in Charge, London (Stanley Hollis) to the Secretary of State, Apr. 15, 1920, DS 841.6363/40.

²⁴ Quoted by Skinner to the State Department, Oct. 18, 1921, DS 841.6363/178. See also *Oil and Gas Journal*, XIX (Sept. 3, 1920), 82, for a report of remarks attributed to Sir John Cadman, the British government's oil controller.

²⁵ American Consul General in Charge (Hollis) to the Secretary of State, Oct. 21, 1919, DS 800.63/44.

²⁶ Wilbur J. Carr to Consul General Skinner in London, June 7, 1919, DS 841.6363/7A.

mystery enshrouding its inception seemed ominous to the State Department, which requested American Consul General Robert P. Skinner in London to get full information regarding the objectives of the permanent ministry.²⁷ Skinner had to confess his inability to penetrate the curtain of official secrecy.²⁸

Already the State Department was wrestling with the first important specific cases of British hostility toward American oil operators in the Near and Middle East. The status of this area was uncertain at the close of the war. By virtue of the Turkish association with the defeated Central Powers the Allies planned to carry out arrangements made during the war for depriving the Turks of portions of their prewar empire. As a substitute for outright annexation by various Allied powers, the Versailles Conference devised the mandate system ostensibly to allow the victorious nations to supervise these areas as trustees under international surveillance. Among the Allies a bitter contest raged over the division of the spoils. The reputed petroleum riches of Palestine and Mesopotamia added greatly to the British desire to maintain a dominant interest in those areas where they had already entrenched their military control. Eventually Great Britain became the mandatory power for Palestine and Mesopotamia.²⁹ During the months after the armistice, the British had refused to allow geologists of the Standard Oil Company of New York to investigate its claims obtained in Palestine prior to the war, and soon they excluded from Mesopotamia American geologists eager to investigate oil possibilities there. The diplomatic exchanges during 1919 and 1920 resulting from these cases are far too complex to be analyzed here, but it will suffice to say that they lent color to the fears that the British, in carrying out their alleged monopolization, were discriminating against American oil interests.³⁰

With the war-born conviction of the indispensability of petroleum for the defense and commerce of a great power, with the jeremiads emanating

²⁷ Davenport and Cooke, pp. 33-37, supplies details on the structure and function of the British wartime petroleum administration. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-43, traces the evolution of the permanent postwar petroleum ministry.

²⁸ Carr to Skinner, June 7, 1919; Skinner to Carr, July 5, 1919; and same to same, July 10, 1919; all DS 841.6363/7A, /8, and /9, respectively.

²⁹ Harry N. Howard, *The Partition of Turkey: A Diplomatic History, 1913-1923* (Norman, Okla., 1931), pp. 113, 201, 217-21, 231 ff., 243; *Foreign Relations, 1919: The Paris Peace Conference*, III (Washington, 1943), 795-96; Denna F. Fleming, *The United States and the League of Nations, 1918-1920* (New York, 1932), pp. 105, 107-109, 203; Leland Gordon, *American Relations with Turkey, 1830-1930: An Economic Interpretation* (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 268; Benjamin Gerig, *The Open Door and the Mandates System* (London, 1930), pp. 85, 106-107. For the Allied agreements concerning the Near East, see Harold W. V. Temperley, ed., *History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, VI (London, 1924), chap. 1, *passim*; and Henry H. Cumming, *Franco-British Rivalry in the Post-War Near East* (London, 1938), chap. 3, *passim*.

³⁰ For a brief account, see Shwadran, pp. 403-408; and Frank E. Manuel, *The Realities of American-Palestine Relations* (Washington, 1949), pp. 267-72. See also my "Petroleum and American Diplomacy in the Near East, 1908-1928," chap. 5.

from the oil experts about America's forthcoming petroleum famine, and with the tensions arising in postwar Anglo-American relations, strong pressures were exerted on official Washington to forge a more dynamic foreign oil policy. As the debate intensified, the problem of petroleum supplies became for a few years a major concern of American foreign policy.

A search for clues as to the men and institutions taking the lead in promoting a more forceful foreign oil policy reveals several such influences shaping public policy—a handful of public servants in the higher executive echelons, some leaders of the petroleum industry, and a few congressmen. Initially, the impetus toward arousing the public and shaping a governmental policy came from a few energetic government officials whose close acquaintance with the oil problem had convinced them that American companies must acquire foreign oil fields. In the vanguard of these pioneers was Mark L. Requa, who, in 1916, while a consulting engineer of the Bureau of Mines, argued that the facts of oil production, consumption, and reserves demonstrated conclusively that the United States must rely on foreign oil to supplement its domestic supplies.³¹ His was at first a lonely and unheeded voice, but he continued his efforts both while director of the petroleum section of the wartime Fuel Administration and subsequently through the trade and technical associations which were active after the war.³² After becoming a member of the inner circle as a vice president of the Sinclair Oil Company, Requa warned his fellow oil executives late in 1920 that "the industry must through self-government" serve the public interest if it wished to avoid increased government regulation.³³

Probably even more influential than Requa in agitating for positive governmental support to American oil interests abroad was Van H. Manning, director of the Bureau of Mines. Manning played the role of a self-appointed liaison agent between the United States government and the American petroleum industry. In his "Report on International Policies Affecting the World's Petroleum Industry," he stated that no one could render greater service to the United States than by assisting American citizens in their rightful participation in developing the world's oil resources.³⁴ Like Requa, Man-

³¹ Mark L. Requa, "Petroleum Resources of the United States," Feb. 21, 1916, *Senate Document* 363, 64 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 3, 14-15, 18.

³² Mark L. Requa to Alvey A. Adee, May 13, 1920, DS 800.6363/112. See also Mark L. Requa, Van H. Manning, and George Otis Smith to H. A. Garfield, U. S. Fuel Administrator, Feb. 28, 1919, reprinted in *Congressional Record*, 66 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 3309-10; and *Oil and Gas Journal*, XIX (Oct. 1, 1920), 2.

³³ Quoted in *ibid.*, XIX (Dec. 17, 1920), 83, reporting Requa's speech before the annual convention of the American Petroleum Institute in November of 1920. His remarks indicate concern over the current congressional investigation of the coal industry and the resulting temper of Congress.

³⁴ Senator James Phelan of California discussed this report in detail on the floor of the

ning worked through the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, a society of mining experts, and the American Petroleum Institute, a trade association of oil producers founded in 1919.³⁵ After thirty-four years with the Interior Department, he severed his official connections with the government but maintained his contacts with government officials, especially in the State Department.³⁶ His aim was to get the collective opinion of the oil industry on the foreign oil problem, particularly its agreement on the kind of legislation by Congress or State Department program that would establish a satisfactory foreign oil policy. While bringing the oil industry's wishes to the attention of the government, he endeavored also to acquaint the oil men with the considerable efforts of the State Department and other government officials on their behalf.³⁷ He advised oil men to play a bigger role in educating the public and Congress so that "wise" policies would be followed.³⁸ Manning had a firm conviction that a solution of the petroleum shortage depended on close relations between the oil industry and the government, and to this end he devoted himself.³⁹ His thinking eventually matured to the point where he called for an international oil agreement by which all oil-producing nations could work together to develop the oil industry for everyone. Such an agreement would, he anticipated, eliminate the destructive competition which threatened to become more alarming.⁴⁰

Support for Requa and Manning in their early advocacy of a stronger foreign oil policy came from a prominent cabinet official, Franklin K. Lane, who was Secretary of the Interior from 1913 to 1920. In his annual report for 1919, Lane called attention to the rapidly expanding demand for oil in the United States, which would have to be met by acquiring foreign oil lands. To achieve this goal, the United States should insist that its nationals be given

Senate in July of 1919 and then had most of it read into the *Congressional Record*, 66 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 3304-3309.

³⁵ Manning to Frost, Aug. 12, 1920, DS 800.6363/276; Van H. Manning, "International Aspects of the Petroleum Industry," *Transactions of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers*, LXV (New York, 1921), 78-88. This paper was delivered at the New York meeting of the institute in February, 1920.

³⁶ When Manning left government service in 1920 to join the American Petroleum Institute, he complained of the inadequacy of the government's financial rewards to scientific and technical men. *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (May 7, 1920), 91; (May 14, 1920), 3.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, XIX (Oct. 19, 1920), 66; Manning to Frost, Aug. 12, 1920, DS 800.6363/276.

³⁸ *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (Mar. 5, 1920), 82-85.

³⁹ Manning to Newton D. Baker, Mar. 8, 1920, enclosed in Manning (by C. H. Egan) to Frost, Apr. 23, 1920, DS 811.6363/35. For a time Manning advocated a program adapted from the British system with a permanent petroleum board and a subsidiary governmental corporation to produce, refine, transport, and sell oil, but with a large degree of direct co-operation with private oil companies. He later withdrew his advocacy of a subsidiary governmental corporation.

⁴⁰ Manning's address entitled "An Oil Entente for All Nations," delivered to the Kansas-Oklahoma Division of the Mid-Continent Gas and Oil Association, was printed in the *Oil and Gas Journal*, XIX (Oct. 22, 1920), 64, 66-68, 70, 72. For a commentary, see *ibid.*, XIX (Nov. 12, 1920), 2.

equality of opportunity in entering foreign fields. He rejected the view held by Manning for a time and by others that the government ought to foster a government corporation with far-flung international objectives patterned after the British system. Instead, he affirmed his belief that private enterprise should exercise the dominant position in the development of the oil industry with the government performing only a supplemental and suggestive role.⁴¹ It is interesting to note that Lane, like Manning and Requa, left the government service in 1920 for a position with a private oil concern.⁴²

While Requa, Manning, and Lane were the prime movers in shaping early sentiment for governmental action in the foreign oil field, the triumvirate drew assistance from colleagues such as George Otis Smith, the director of the United States Geological Survey, and its chief geologist, David White.⁴³ They also had some support from Josephus Daniels, the Secretary of the Navy, who had spent many anxious hours since 1913 worrying over the petroleum supply problem, although his thinking had turned more toward the possibility of having the navy refine its own oil from the naval petroleum reserves than toward stimulating American efforts to develop foreign oil resources.⁴⁴

It was not long before influential spokesmen within the American petroleum industry who contemplated entering into foreign fields joined the aforementioned pioneers in urging stronger governmental support. The question naturally arises as to whether the dominant motivation of the industry was commercial self-interest or the national welfare. The answer becomes clear with an examination of the position of the petroleum industry at the close of World War I. The American petroleum industry, which had

⁴¹ Lane had created a special advisory petroleum board to counsel him on petroleum supply problems. Although this board recommended an expansive governmental producing, purchasing, and marketing agency and was prepared to engage in political as well as economic competition with Great Britain, Lane did not concur in the recommendations. The Secretary of the Interior in *Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1919* (Washington, 1919), I, 22-24; Lane to Manning, Sept. 24, 1919, in Anne Wintermute Lane and Louise Herrick Wall, eds., *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane, Personal and Political* (Boston and New York, 1922), pp. 315-16.

⁴² Lane had served the government for twenty-one years before he resigned from the cabinet on March 1, 1920, to become vice-president of E. L. Doheny's Mexican Petroleum and Pan American Transport Company at a reputed annual salary of \$50,000. *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (Feb. 13, 1920), 85; (Feb. 20, 1920), 78.

⁴³ George Otis Smith, "A Foreign Oil Supply for the United States," *Transactions of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers*, LXV, 89-93, especially 92-93. This paper was also read at the New York meeting of the institute of February, 1920. See editorial in the *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (Jan. 23, 1920), 3, and comment in *ibid.* (April 16, 1920), 86. Smith's address to the Iron and Steel Institute at New York in May of 1920 is reported in *ibid.* (May 28, 1920), 56-57, 60. David White, "The Unmined Supply of Petroleum in the United States," *Journal of the Society of American Automotive Engineers*, IV (May, 1919), 362; *Oil and Gas Journal*, XIX (June 11, 1920), 76 ff.; (June 18, 1920), 54 ff.; (July 23, 1920), 81.

⁴⁴ Josephus Daniels to Thomas S. Butler (chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee) and to Carrol S. Page (chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee), June 1, 1920, Josephus Daniels MSS, General Correspondence, 1920, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

been the world's leader for more than half a century, had just played a vital role in helping the Allies to win the war. Now it faced the potentially lucrative commercial prospects presented by unprecedented and rapidly expanding domestic demands.⁴⁵

And yet American oil men seriously doubted whether they could supply the increasing demand. They had actually been caught napping and were chagrined when they woke up to the threat to their long-held ascendancy appearing on the horizon.⁴⁶ True, they had for decades usually turned out between sixty and seventy per cent of the world's production, but they had drained this impressive output largely from wells in the United States.⁴⁷ In recent years, however, British companies had made a special effort to scour the world for new sources of petroleum. The British-Dutch combine of Royal Dutch-Shell had become a real challenge to the world primacy of the Standard Oil group, and a new combination, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, enjoyed the great advantage of strong backing from a British government bent on ensuring at any cost a petroleum supply for its new oil-burning navy.⁴⁸

It came as a bitter realization for American oil companies to find that by 1919 the British companies, which were currently turning out less than five per cent of the world's production, had somehow acquired more than half the world's estimated future reserves.⁴⁹ With the alarm over the depletion of America's domestic supply, the long-range future looked bleak to American oil men, who saw that they might have to forgo profits because of their failure to acquire abundant foreign reserves.⁵⁰

American oil men thus placed on the defensive nevertheless quickly disclaimed any suggestion that they had been derelict in not tapping foreign resources sooner.⁵¹ They shifted the blame to the United States government

⁴⁵ *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (Sept. 12, 1919), 54; (Oct. 3, 1919), 76; (Oct. 24, 1919), 2; (Nov. 28, 1919), 2, 70.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, XVIII (Oct. 24, 1919), 2; (Jan. 23, 1920), 3.

⁴⁷ See Fanning, Table 43, pp. 256-59. Mexican production experienced a great boom between 1919 and 1921. Americans' share in the Mexican production, which was about fifty-seven per cent between 1912 and 1916, rose to nearly eighty per cent by 1922. When Mexican fields began to show water in 1920, it increased the alarm in the United States over future petroleum supplies. Between 1922 and 1927 Mexican output declined by more than fifty per cent because of the water problem and the political uncertainties in Mexico, especially those due to the Mexican constitution of 1917. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

⁴⁸ *Oil and Gas Journal*, XIX (June 18, 1920), 68; Davenport and Cooke, pp. 78-79, 84-87. For the rapid rise of Shell as a competitor of the Standard group by 1911, see Hidy and Hidy, pp. 259-60, 268, 501-502, 504-505, 566-67, 717.

⁴⁹ Requa to Adey, May 13, 1920, DS 800.6363/112; Ambassador J. W. Davis to the Secretary of State, Aug. 11, 1920, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1920, II (Washington, 1935), 664. Hereafter cited as *F.R.*, followed by the appropriate year.

⁵⁰ *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (Oct. 24, 1919), 2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XVIII (Dec. 12, 1919), 3; (Feb. 6, 1920), 2; (Apr. 30, 1920), 2; (May 7, 1920), 79, 86; *ibid.*, XIX (June 18, 1920), 68. The rapidly developing interest in foreign fields is re-

for failing to support them as vigorously as the British government backed its oil men abroad. Their prior leadership in the petroleum field proved, they asserted, that Americans could compete effectively with foreign concerns, provided only they were given equality of opportunity. They saw the "hands off" attitude of the American government as the real stumbling block to their foreign expansion.⁵² This line of argument ignored the inescapable fact that American oil concerns had been laggard in their efforts to penetrate oil fields outside the Western Hemisphere.⁵³

At a time when foreign oil reserves appeared vital to the national interest, oil men promoted their campaign for stronger government support by linking their prospective foreign expansion with the national interest. While these men were undoubtedly patriotic Americans, their companies' concern was essentially commercial. That of the government was strategic. As Herbert Feis has put it:

The forces of national diplomacy are restlessly hovering over the oil fields weighing their place in the politics of power and in any future war. Oil men brood over the oil because it can be sold at a lucrative price. Governments brood over the oil because they believe it may mean national weakness or strength for themselves or others.⁵⁴

The oil companies hit fortunately upon a strong asset when they identified their commercial interests with what appeared to be the national welfare, and it was in such terms that they couched their pleas for public support in securing government assistance.⁵⁵

It is not so easy to determine how much influence these commercially minded oil companies and their officials actually exerted on governmental policy. During World War I, American oil companies had the opportunity

vealed in President Walter Teagle's speech on the fiftieth anniversary of Standard Oil's first charter: "The present policy of the Standard Oil Company is to be interested in every producing area, no matter in what country it is situated, provided interests can be secured on a basis that would seem to hold out the possibilities of success, and where the lives and property of American citizens will be protected." Quoted in *ibid.*, XVIII (Feb. 6, 1920), 87.

⁵² *Ibid.*, XVIII (Dec. 12, 1919), 3; (May 14, 1920), 2; XIX (June 11, 1920), 89; (June 18, 1920), 68; (Oct. 29, 1920), 2.

⁵³ For what appear to be exclusively commercial reasons, the Standard Oil group made a number of attempts to break into the producing branch in Asia and Europe during the two decades before 1912, but they were successful only in Rumania. It does appear that an obstacle to these efforts was the discriminatory attitude of foreign governments, often abetted by foreign petroleum interests, toward American oil companies. But the major deterrent to foreign producing was the more attractive oil frontiers within the United States. See Hidy and Hidy, pp. 259-68, 494, 496-503, 509-12, 515-21, 529. Only occasionally did Standard seek assistance from American diplomatic and consular officials. *Ibid.*, pp. 500, 515, 518.

⁵⁴ Feis, *Petroleum and American Foreign Policy*, p. 29. Mark Requa wrote Colonel Edward M. House that "the problem of petroleum [*sic*] from the commercial viewpoint of the petroleum industry and from the viewpoint of national interest over long periods of time are two very different things. In the one case a generation represents a very long time; in the other an insignificant period." Requa to House, June 8, 1918, House MSS, Yale University Library.

⁵⁵ *Oil and Gas Journal*, XIX (June 18, 1920), 68.

to work together in a way they had never before attempted. Voluntary collaboration under the National Petroleum Service Committee had proved so successful that in March of 1919 the industry organized the American Petroleum Institute, a trade association through which the oil companies hoped to enjoy the benefits of expanded collective action.⁵⁶ When the institute's president, Thomas A. O'Donnell, announced the formation of a foreign relations committee in July, the *Oil and Gas Journal* commented:

During the war we learned how important a part the American petroleum industry plays in world affairs and now in time of peace, the effort is being earnestly made to strengthen the relations already formed and determine the status of American interests abroad, as well as to take part in the exploitation of new oil regions.⁵⁷

A few weeks later the institute's committee on foreign relations under the chairmanship of Walter C. Teagle, president of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, made a report to the institute's board of directors. In accepting the report, the board adopted a resolution stating: "That American companies or citizens operating, or desiring to operate, in foreign countries, should receive privileges similar to those enjoyed in the United States by companies or citizens of such foreign countries, and that effective steps to that end should be taken through diplomatic channels."⁵⁸ This resolution and Teagle's report were sent to the State Department along with other institute memorandums, one of which condemned the effects of foreign state monopoly practices on what was called the American system of fair and open commercial competition. Another laid before the department in some detail the existing state of affairs in Mesopotamia in the hope that measures would be taken to prevent American exclusion from that area. It was suggested that the department acquaint the American Peace Commission at Paris with the situation.

While the industry invited governmental assistance, it emphasized its expectation that the government would not introduce regulations which would hamper the companies in their commercial operations.⁵⁹ This attitude, setting up as it did a curious double standard in regard to the government's

⁵⁶ Kemnitzer, pp. 14, 16-22. See also *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (June 6, 1919), 62-64; XIX (Aug. 13, 1920), 70; (Oct. 1, 1920), 2; (Nov. 5, 1920), 2. Although Franklin Lane sent the new organization his blessing, he implied at the same time that it might have a potential capacity for evil. He hoped it would take a long-range view and present sane policies which could contribute to the development of the oil industry in the interests of the whole country. The leaders of the oil industry would have "to take the attitude of statesmen and not of selfish exploiters." Lane to Manning, Sept. 24, 1919, in Lane and Wall, pp. 315-16.

⁵⁷ *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (July 11, 1919), 65. See also *ibid.*, XIX (Nov. 26, 1920), 2.

⁵⁸ Thomas A. O'Donnell, president of the American Petroleum Institute, to Secretary of State Robert Lansing, Sept. 30, 1919, DS 800.6363/89. See also *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (Sept. 5, 1919), 68.

⁵⁹ See enclosure in O'Donnell to Lansing, Sept. 30, 1919, DS 800.6363/89; *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (July 11, 1919), 2; (Apr. 30, 1920), 2; *ibid.*, XIX (Dec. 3, 1920), 87.

role in the economy, became the widely accepted interpretation of *laissez-faire* in business circles during the 1920's.

The American Petroleum Institute, while probably the most representative agency speaking for the industry, was not the only organization trying to impress the government with the need for prompt and aggressive action. The American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, an older organization which brought together the technical experts in the minerals field, engaged in similar prodding. A committee of its petroleum section under the chairmanship of Mark Requa, presented to the President and Congress in March of 1920 a petition headed "Imperative Need of Aggressive Foreign Policy as Regards the Oil Industry." The familiar arguments were used: American interest in world oil production was paramount because of her large and growing consumption; the demand could not be met by the dwindling domestic resources; some foreign governments had adopted restrictive practices which tended to exclude Americans from the foreign oil sources they needed; therefore, "the Government should at once make representation upon this matter under the alternative that the free entrance of foreign capital in the American development of natural resources will be reciprocally restrained."⁶⁰

Policy-makers in Washington could not ignore the swelling chorus chanting the urgency of the oil problem and demanding more energetic policies to ensure future supplies. Since many governmental agencies were concerned, the task of co-ordinating their efforts was an essential prerequisite to creating a more active oil policy. The leadership fell eventually to the State Department, in view of the serious implications for the international relations of the United States. An Economic Liaison Committee, organized late in March of 1919 under the chairmanship of Wesley Frost, the State Department's acting foreign trade adviser, assumed the task of harmonizing and co-ordinating the work of the various government agencies concerned with foreign trade.⁶¹ At first, the committee placed the oil problem in the hands of a sub-committee on mineral raw materials which by July presented a special report called, "Summary of Facts and Recommendations Bearing upon the Petroleum Policy of the United States."⁶² The report recommended that American

⁶⁰ American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers to the President of the United States, Mar. 1, 1920, DS 800.6363/95. Herbert Hoover, as president of the institute at the time, appended his approval to this petition.

⁶¹ Report of the Director of the Bureau of Mines (Van Manning) in *Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1919*, I, 681-82.

⁶² Copies of this report, dated July 11, 1919, were found in DS 811.6363/45, and in the Frank L. Polk MSS.

consular and diplomatic officials be instructed to give special attention to helping American interests in obtaining oil properties abroad.⁶³

Prior to this recommendation, the State Department had shown little disposition to go out of its way to promote American oil development abroad. A consular instruction had already been sent out announcing that several agencies of the government were undertaking an economic study of the world's mineral resources, including an investigation of the legal restrictions imposed by various countries upon aliens in securing mining concessions and operating mining properties. But oil was only one of a number of minerals included.⁶⁴

There were by August signs that the apathy was giving way to a somewhat more vigorous approach. This was revealed in the new consular instructions of August 11, 1919, which dealt specifically with oil supplies, concerning which Alvey A. Adee declared:

The vital importance of securing adequate supplies of mineral oil both for present and future needs of the United States has been forcibly brought to the attention of the Department. The development of proven fields and exploration of new areas is being aggressively conducted in many parts of the world by nationals of various countries, and concessions for mineral oil rights are being actively sought. It is desired to have the most complete and recent information regarding such activities either by United States citizens or by others.⁶⁵

To provide it with needed facts, the State Department asked its field representatives to report comprehensively from time to time all information on oil concessions sought, granted, or transferred, as well as changes in control or ownership of petroleum companies. The department also authorized its agents "to lend all legitimate aid" to responsible American citizens or interests seeking oil rights, taking care, however, to distinguish between bona fide American companies and those merely incorporated under United States laws but dominated by foreign capital.⁶⁶

Apparently the field did not respond to these directives rapidly enough to meet the requirements of the department, for Adee dispatched follow-up instructions on October 17, advising field representatives that the information on petroleum was "urgently needed."⁶⁷ As data did come into Washington,

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶⁴ The Acting Secretary of State (by Wilbur J. Carr) to Certain Consular Officers, Special Instructions, Consular, No. 672, May 31, 1919, *F.R.*: 1919, I (Washington, 1934), 163-65.

⁶⁵ The Secretary of State (by Alvey A. Adee) to Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Aug. 16, 1919, *ibid.*, I, 167.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 167. The latter authorization followed almost verbatim the recommendation of the Economic Liaison Committee's subcommittee on petroleum.

⁶⁷ The Acting Secretary of State (Alvey A. Adee) to Certain Consular Officials, Oct. 17, 1919, *F.R.*: 1919, I, 168.

the department digested them and routed them to various interested agencies.⁶⁸

As congressmen became aware in 1919 and 1920 of the implications of the oil shortage, the legislative branch also responded to the pressures for federal action to improve the petroleum supply prospects. The fuel difficulties experienced by the navy and the shipping board alarmed some congressmen; so did the reports telling how the British were acquiring most of the world's remaining petroleum reserves of promise.⁶⁹ What seemed to irritate the congressmen most was the freedom with which British companies acquired oil lands within the United States, while the British government in some cases denied Americans reciprocal access to lands over which they had jurisdiction.⁷⁰ Considerable sentiment developed in and out of Congress for correcting this situation. Since Great Britain seemed unwilling to honor in practice the principle of reciprocity, some congressmen advocated using the club of retaliation to punish the British without much thought of whether such a policy would really improve the oil situation.⁷¹

A proposed minerals leasing bill for the public domain afforded Congress an opportunity to debate the merits of retaliation versus reciprocity toward aliens whose governments put Americans on a basis different from their own nationals.⁷² Senator James D. Phelan of California, an outspoken critic of British oil policies, tried unsuccessfully to amend the bill to give the President discretionary authority to embargo *all* oil shipments from the United States.⁷³ Phelan's proposed embargo would have been retaliation with

⁶⁸ For letters transmitting such data, see DS 800.6363/47a, /80a, /89b, /91c; and DS 800.63/51a, /59a, /62a, /65a, /80a, /80b, /101a, /101b, /101c. Several government departments and bureaus worked out a very elaborate system of collecting and disseminating petroleum data during the next few years. See DS 800.63/65f, /71, /96, /102a, /213, /22a; DS 800.6363/73a supp., /76a, /76b, /78, /84, /193, /207a.

⁶⁹ For examples, see *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 3304-3305, 3921, 4161-70, 4282-83, 4287. On February 4, 1919, Representative Joe H. Eagle of Texas admonished his colleagues for not appreciating sufficiently the vital part oil now played in military and industrial activities; he warned them that "it would be a tragedy the like of which you can scarce [*sic*] conceive if . . . an adequate supply of crude petroleum requisite for the Navy and the merchant marine should suddenly cease. . . ." *Ibid.*, 65 Cong., 3 sess., p. 2691. See also Senator Wesley L. Jones (of Washington) to the Secretary of State, Mar. 9, 1920, DS 811.6363/8.

⁷⁰ *Oil and Gas Journal*, XVIII (Aug. 1, 1919), 59.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, XVIII (Aug. 8, 1919), 2; *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 3305-3306; F. B. Parriott of the Transcontinental Oil Company to Representative Guy E. Campbell of Pennsylvania, Aug. 5, 1919, enclosed in Campbell to Lansing, Aug. 9, 1919, DS 800.6363/10.

⁷² S. 2772, 66 Cong., 2 sess. See the index sections of *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., for the complex history of this bill. Congress had been considering proposals for leasing federal mineral lands for several years. See Franklin K. Lane to Charles K. Field of *Sunset Magazine*, Apr. 18, 1914, and Lane to Lawrence F. Abbott of *Outlook Magazine*, Jan. 12, 1915, in Lane and Wall, pp. 150-51, 161-62.

⁷³ *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 4281-83. The British government protested against clauses in the proposed minerals leasing bill and presented a vigorous rebuttal to the charges that they had plotted to corner the world's oil resources. See British Appointed Ambassador (Grey) by R. C. Lindsay to the Secretary of State, Nov. 6, 1919, *F.R.*: 1919, I, 168-70. For the Ameri-

a vengeance. Cautioning against applying outright retaliation, Secretary of State Robert Lansing stressed the advantages of emphasizing the principle of reciprocity in the proposed legislation. If this was done, and if the legislation gave the President discretionary authority rather than the mandatory authority desired by some, it would afford the State Department the necessary leeway for seeking favorable results through diplomatic channels.⁷⁴

Congress finally passed, and the President signed on February 25, 1920, the bill dealing specifically with the public lands, and popularly known as the Minerals Leasing Law of 1920.⁷⁵ It contained a clause providing: "That citizens of another country, the laws, customs, or regulations of which, deny similar or like privileges to citizens or corporations of this country, shall not by stock ownership, stock holding, or stock control, own any interest in any lease acquired under the provisions of this Act."⁷⁶

The debates on the minerals leasing legislation revealed marked anti-British feelings in Congress, which were abetted by a widely publicized report soon laid before the Senate. This report grew out of a resolution of March 10, 1920, asking the President to lay before the upper house information concerning restrictions on American oil men abroad, and to describe the steps taken to remove them.⁷⁷ During the next few weeks, the State Department worked up the required report, based largely on the data its consular and diplomatic representatives had been supplying for more than a year,⁷⁸ and on May 17, President Wilson transmitted it to the Senate. First, the report considered mining laws and regulations in various countries of the world, which indicated that there were some restrictions on aliens.⁷⁹ Then, in answer to the Senate's inquiry as to what measures the government was taking toward removal of the restrictions on American citizens, the State Department pointed out that these restrictions generally fell on all aliens and were not discriminations pointed specifically at Americans. In the absence of treaty provisions this form of regulation was not contrary to international

can rejoinder, see Lansing to Grey, Dec. 20, 1919, *ibid.*, I, 171, and the Office of the Foreign Trade Adviser [William Coffin] to Wesley Frost, Interdepartmental Memorandum, Nov. 10, 1919, DS 811.6363/7.

⁷⁴ The Secretary of the Interior (Lane) to the Secretary of State, Oct. 30, 1919; Lansing to Lane, Nov. 16, 1919, both DS 811.6363/4.

⁷⁵ Public Law No. 146, *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XLI, part 1 (Washington, 1921), 437-51.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

⁷⁷ Senate Res. 331, Mar. 10, 1920, *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., 2 sess., p. 4117.

⁷⁸ See above p. 869.

⁷⁹ *Senate Document* 272, 66 Cong., 2 sess. This report is printed also in *F.R.: 1920*, I (Washington, 1935), 351-69, and in the *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 7146-52. DS 800.6363 reveals many requests for copies of the report from individuals and corporations. The President sent supplementary reports to the Senate on May 16, 1921, June 13, 1921, and April 23, 1924. They are printed as *Senate Document* 11, *Senate Document* 39, 67 Cong., 1 sess.; and *Senate Document* 97, 68 Cong., 1 sess.

law, "however impolitic it might be as regards reciprocity and international comity."⁸⁰ The policy of the British in occupied areas, such as the former Ottoman Empire, appeared to be one of prohibiting prospecting for minerals, although the department felt that conditions in occupied areas were generally so unsettled that it would be hazardous to speculate as to the ultimate policy that might be adopted. Whenever circumstances warranted, the department used the data it had collected in making representations to foreign governments on the desirability of eliminating enforcement of restrictive practices. The report noted the reciprocity feature of the Minerals Leasing Law of 1920 and observed that "the further protection and development of American petroleum interests abroad, in a large measure, [is] dependent on reciprocal arrangements between Governments."⁸¹

Some congressmen did not think the Minerals Leasing Law of 1920, covering as it did only public lands, went far enough. They wanted to extend its provisions to private oil lands in the United States. Early in 1921, Senators James D. Phelan and Kenneth McKellar both proposed punitive measures which would have denied American petroleum to governments or nationals of any country placing restrictions on American oil men.⁸² Compelling arguments on both policy and legal grounds scotched these embargo proposals.⁸³

Punishment of offending nations was not the only proposed avenue of congressional action. There was some support for the more positive scheme to have the United States sponsor a government oil corporation, on grounds that American oil interests might find it easier to operate abroad with the power of the federal government behind them. Senator Phelan became the congressional advocate of this idea.⁸⁴ The control of his proposed United States Oil Corporation would have been vested in a board of nine directors appointed by the President, but with private individuals rather than the government supplying the capital.⁸⁵ Since this plan raised international issues, Senator Reed Smoot of the Public Lands Committee sought the views of the

⁸⁰ *Sen. Doc. 272*, 66 Cong., 2 sess., p. 13.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁸² On January 3, 1921, Senator McKellar introduced bill S. 4747, "Relative to acquisition of oil lands by foreign Governments." It was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The bill is printed in the *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., 3 sess., p. 872, and the debate is reported in *ibid.*, pp. 1032-50. Senator Phelan introduced a similar bill (S. 4866, "To authorize the President of the United States to lay embargoes against the exportation of petroleum oil and providing penalties.") on January 17, 1921, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, where it died. *Ibid.*, p. 1491.

⁸³ Office of the Solicitor (ET) to Millspaugh, Jan. 19, 1921, DS 811.6363/50; Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (Lodge) to Colby, Jan. 29, 1921; the Undersecretary of State (Norman Davis) to Lodge, Feb. 28, 1921, both DS 811.6363/36.

⁸⁴ S. 4396, introduced on May 17, 1920, and referred to the Senate Committee on Public Lands. *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., 2 sess., p. 7144.

⁸⁵ Fanning, p. 4; John Ise, *The United States Oil Policy* (New Haven, 1926), pp. 481-82.

State Department.⁸⁶ Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby found serious shortcomings in the contemplated corporation. Foreign countries would regard it as having the character of a governmental agency, at least to some degree, and this might lead to international complications when the corporation tried to acquire property and carry on business in foreign countries. Colby pointed out further legal difficulties raised by the clause in the bill giving the United States government preferential rights to take all or a portion of the company's supplies at the prevailing market price: "The company's products until shipped to the United States would be in a foreign country, and therefore subject of course to that country's laws and to its sovereign right to take them under conditions similar to those contemplated by the bill with respect to their appropriation by the United States." Equally ineffective, Colby thought, was the provision exempting the United States from any liability incurred by the corporation. If difficulties arose between the company and a foreign country, the latter was under no legal obligation to acquiesce in this clause if it believed a complaint to the United States government was justified.⁸⁷

To Colby's objections, Secretary of Commerce J. W. Alexander added others and agreed with Colby's judgment that a properly organized private concern could probably accomplish everything expected of the proposed government corporation.⁸⁸ The shortcomings observed by Colby and Alexander together with the unfriendly attitude of the oil industry killed Phelan's suggestion.⁸⁹

At the opposite extreme was a congressional proposal which implied that the problem of a future oil supply was insolvable. This negative approach was suggested by Senator Albert B. Cummins of Iowa in his resolution to have the Committee on Naval Affairs look into the feasibility of having government vessels reconvert to coal fuel.⁹⁰ Secretary Daniels quickly and emphatically rejected this suggestion which "would be so decided a step backward it ought not to be even considered." As long as foreign navies burned

⁸⁶ Smoot to Colby, Aug. 12, 1920, DS 811.6363/16.

⁸⁷ Colby to Smoot, Nov. 19, 1920, DS 811.6363/21b. Colby commented: "In view of the solicitude existing among nations generally at the present time with respect to the supply of oil, it seems not unlikely that the foreign countries in which a corporation such as is contemplated by the bill might desire to operate would very grudgingly accord it the right to do business or would refuse such right altogether, unless it would be clearly secured by treaty stipulations."

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*; Alexander to Colby, Dec. 6, 1920, enclosing letter from Alexander to Smoot, July 26, 1920, DS 811.6363/25.

⁸⁹ Office of the Foreign Trade Adviser (ACM), Memorandum, Apr. 12, 1921, DS 811.6363/46. A somewhat similar proposal was embodied in Senator King's resolution of April 28, 1920, directing the Secretary of the Navy to report whether the navy should acquire oil lands abroad. Although this proposition attracted Secretary Daniels, long an advocate of government-operated oil enterprises to supply the navy, nothing concrete resulted in the way of government-owned resources abroad. S. Res. 354, 66 Cong., 2 sess., *Cong. Record*, pp. 6620, 6259.

⁹⁰ S. Res. 361, 66 Cong., 2 sess., *ibid.*, p. 6979.

oil, it was inconceivable to him that the United States Navy could do otherwise in view of the military advantages of oil.⁸¹ The shipping board shared his unwillingness to return to coal, for that would mean an inability to compete with foreign merchant marines for the carrying trade.⁸² Consequently, the reconversion idea joined the proposed government oil project on the scrap heap.

At the time of the armistice in 1918, there was a comparative complacency on the part of official Washington and the American public toward the problem of the country's future oil supply. Only a handful of experts in the government service or associated with the petroleum industry was preaching that the national interest required that American companies go abroad for reserves. Within two years, the thinking of the oil industry and influential public servants had undergone a significant change. Indifference had given way to widespread anxiety that the national interest was in serious jeopardy because of depletion of domestic petroleum reserves and because of British inroads into the remaining promising oil fields of the world, particularly those of Asia Minor. It had become established dogma accepted emphatically by the petroleum industry and by official Washington, with implicit public support, that the federal government should give more active backing to American oil interests seeking to force their way into foreign oil fields. Those elements of the American oil industry interested in expanding their foreign production had successfully waged the campaign to convince the American public and its Washington policy-makers of the identity of the national interest and the commercial petroleum interests.

Despite the creation of sentiment favorable to the formation of an effective oil policy, the net result of the executive and congressional efforts toward this end proved disappointing by the end of 1920. The State Department had, it was true, used diplomatic persuasion in its efforts to remove the obstacles placed in the path of American oil men wishing to develop petroleum resources abroad, especially in Palestine and Mesopotamia. Beyond taking measures it hoped would implement the principle of reciprocity, the department considered itself helpless. As Alvey A. Adee expressed it, "The Department of State does not appear to have in its possession any adequate means of stimulating activity in foreign countries on the part of American oil com-

⁸¹ Chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee (Carrol S. Page) to Daniels, May 17, 1920, Navy Department Record Group 80 in the National Archives, file 13668-751:1; Daniels to Page, May 29, 1920, Navy 13668-751:SE.

⁸² Davenport and Cooke, pp. 74-77; *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., 2 sess., p. 4118; *Oil and Gas Journal*, XIX (Dec. 3, 1920), 82.

panies, of diverting American capital to foreign investment, or of checking the activities of foreign companies."⁹³

For its part, Congress had placed on the books legislation barring foreigners from oil development in the public lands whenever reciprocal privileges were denied Americans. But beyond this law, the legislators had been unable to contribute anything concrete. Efforts in the direction of an oil embargo, a government oil corporation, and a reconversion of the navy and merchant marine to coal had all been found wanting.

As the 1920's wore on, the widespread clamor for an energetic foreign oil policy abated considerably, due largely to the opening of large new fields within the United States which dispelled the shortage scare until the onslaught of a new and greater mechanized war.

The modest immediate effects of the postwar ferment for an aggressive American oil policy abroad should not be allowed to obscure its important long-range consequences. Significant for the future was the persistence of several large companies in forcing an entry into the Middle East oil fields. They were anxious to maintain their valuable contacts with the State Department, which was by this time fully alerted to their problems.

The oil executives cast about for a new approach which soon led them into direct conversations with the British, French, and Dutch partners of the Turkish Petroleum Company. Their efforts to effect American participation in an international consortium were eventually successful, but not until after seven years of discouraging and frustrating negotiations during which the several companies comprising the American group sought and obtained considerable guidance and support from the State Department.⁹⁴

In 1928, five American companies⁹⁵ finally joined the international group known as the Turkish Petroleum Company.⁹⁶ Six years later, this combine pumped Iraq petroleum through its new pipeline to the Mediterranean.

⁹³ Adee to Stoughton (of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers), Apr. 17, 1920, DS 800.6363/95. Substantially the same statement was made by the Secretary of State (Bainbridge Colby) to Senator Wesley L. Jones, Apr. 15, 1920, *F.R.*: 1920, I, 350.

⁹⁴ For a brief outline of the diplomatic and commercial negotiations leading to American entry into the Iraq Petroleum Company, see Shwadran, pp. 208-48. See also my "Petroleum and American Diplomacy in the Near East," chaps. 7 and 11. Company records have been exploited in the preparation of a valuable chapter emphasizing the business aspects of the negotiations in the second volume of the Business History Foundation's *History of Standard Oil (New Jersey)* scheduled for publication late in 1956.

⁹⁵ These were Standard Oil (New Jersey), Standard Oil of New York, Gulf, Atlantic Refining, and Pan American Petroleum and Transport. Within a few years three of these participants withdrew leaving only Standard Oil (New Jersey) and Standard Oil of New York. Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East: Its Discovery and Development* (London, 1954), p. 68, n. 1; Fanning, p. 7.

⁹⁶ In 1929 the name was changed to the Iraq Petroleum Company.

American companies were sharing at last in the oil production of the Middle East.⁹⁷ This first active American participation turned out to be only a prelude for the acquisition of larger holdings and vaster operations in the Middle East region during the ensuing decades. Only in recent years have the larger implications of these operations for the foreign relations and national security of the United States begun to reveal themselves.

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⁹⁷ Although the Turkish Petroleum Company began drilling in 1927, the partners could not bring Iraq petroleum into the world market until they solved the transportation problem by completing the pipeline. Mehdi Hessabi, *Le pétrole en Irak* (Paris, 1937), pp. 62-63, 65-66; Longrigg, pp. 70-72, 76-78.

Italy Reviews Its Fascist Past: A Bibliographical Essay*

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

NOT long after the fall of Mussolini on July 25, 1943, Italians began to publish the records of Fascism and to analyze its place in Italy's history. Starved by twenty years of rigid censorship, they took to the pen with enthusiasm, though not always felicitously. During the last ten years, Fascists and anti-Fascists, generals and admirals, bureaucrats and private citizens, journalists, a few historians and political scientists have all contributed to the now vast literature. With varying degrees of veracity and/or skill they have probed almost every aspect of Fascism: the period of incubation and preparation after the First World War; its domestic and foreign policies during twenty years of power; its collapse during the Second World War; its internal quarrels and corruption; and its final outburst of violence in the German-dominated Social Republic of Salò in northern Italy.

Consequently, the historian who approaches this recent period of Italian history faces no danger of a paucity of data. Rather, the number of publications and documents available may prove an embarrassment of riches. This article will attempt to analyze and evaluate the most important and useful works among the many hundreds of memoirs, biographies, histories, documents, and other materials which have appeared in Italy since 1944. It will not endeavor to survey publications of an earlier date,¹ nor will it include books published outside of Italy during the years covered by this essay.

A number of sources help to reconstruct in more detail the now familiar story of Fascism's rise to power. The most comprehensive report on this phase is Angelo Tasca's *Nascita e avvento del fascismo: l'Italia dal 1918 al 1922* (Florence, 1950). While it bears a similar title and covers approximately the same subject matter as an earlier version written in French and published under a pseudonym at Paris in 1938,² this Italian edition has been expanded and completely rewritten. It must therefore be considered a new work.

* Part of the research for this paper was completed at the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

¹ A few exceptions will be made for works which, though published earlier, have been considered sufficiently important to be republished since 1944, often in much enlarged form.

² Angelo Rossi (pseud. of Angelo Tasca), *La naissance du fascisme: l'Italie de l'armistice à la marche du Rome* (Paris, 1938).

Polemical in parts, its value lies in the ample documentation and in the author's first-hand knowledge of the period.³ Tasca presents a vivid picture of political conditions in Italy from 1919 to 1922 and graphically describes the sequence of events which enabled Fascism to assert itself.

A study complementary to Tasca is that of Giacomo Perticone, one of Italy's abler political scientists. His three-volume work, *La politica italiana nell'ultimo trentennio* (Rome, 1945-47), dissects Italian politics from 1915 to 1945. Perticone concentrates on the structure and spirit of pre-Fascist Italian democracy in the first two volumes, *La crisi della democrazia e la lotta dei partiti (1915-1920)* and *La crisi della democrazia e la dittatura fascista (1921-1943)*.⁴ The Fascist era is summarized in the last third of the second volume, almost as an appendix to the preceding pages. Using parliamentary records, speeches, pamphlets, contemporary newspapers, and other documentary material, Perticone has written a carefully considered analysis of Italian political life. The picture of a democracy in crisis, led by an incompetent ruling class, emerges for the years preceding Fascism.

The writings of Piero Gobetti,⁵ the young Turin intellectual who sought to revitalize Italian liberalism and whose theories provided the ideological inspiration for Carlo Rosselli's anti-Fascist Justice and Liberty movement, have been made available in three volumes: *Scritti attuali* (Rome, 1945), *La rivoluzione liberale: saggio sulla lotta politica in Italia* (Turin, 1948), and *Antologia della "Rivoluzione Liberale"* (Turin, 1948). This last collection, edited by Nino Valeri, brings together the best articles from Gobetti's review of the early 1920's, *Rivoluzione Liberale*, and includes many penetrating observations on Fascism and the state of Italian politics in those years. Another important source for the early days of Fascism is the complete edition of *Non Mollare*, the first clandestine anti-Fascist newspaper, now very rare in the original. Republished at Florence in 1955, it makes available articles by Salvemini and others and documents the anti-Fascist struggle.

A number of memoirs and subjective accounts of the early days of Fascism provide often valuable data on the contrasting factors and forces which vied for mastery in Italian political life. Some appeared shortly after Fascism came to power, were subsequently banned by the regime, but have been repub-

³ In 1919 Tasca was co-editor with Terracini and Togliatti of Gramsci's review *Ordine nuovo*. He remained a Communist through the 1920's until he was expelled from the party in 1929 for doctrinal deviations. Subsequently, he worked with the Italian Socialist movement in exile in France. But, since the end of the Second World War he has held aloof from politics and has devoted himself to research and writing. His studies on the French Communist party date from this period.

⁴ Volume III deals with the Fascist republic of Salò and will be reported on in its proper place.

⁵ Gobetti died in 1926 at the age of twenty-four from a brutal Fascist beating.

lished since 1945. Others were made public only after the fall of Fascism. *La politica italiana dopo Vittorio Veneto* (Turin, 1953) by Ivanoe Bonomi, the veteran reformist Socialist leader, traces events from the end of the First World War to the government crisis of July, 1922, which led to the Facta cabinet. The internal crisis of Italian Socialism and its external struggles are well described by Bonomi in *Dal socialismo al fascismo* (Milan, 1946)⁶ and by Pietro Nenni, the present-day leader of the Italian Socialist party, in *Sei anni di guerra civile* (Milan, 1945)⁷ and *Storia di quattro anni (1919-1922)* (Rome, 1946). A brief, but discerning, analysis characterizes historian Guglielmo Ferrero's *Da Fiume a Roma: storia di quattro anni, 1919-1923* (Milan, 1945),⁸ while Emilio Lussu's *Marcia su Roma e dintorni* (Rome, 1945)⁹ provides insight into the techniques used by the Fascists to advance their cause.¹⁰

Luigi Albertini's *In difesa della libertà: discorsi e scritti* (Milan, 1947), Marcello Soleri's *Memorie* (Turin, 1949), Carlo Sforza's *L'Italia dal 1914 al 1944 quale io la vidi* (Rome, 1944), and Antonio Salandra's *Memorie politiche, 1915-1925* (Milan, 1951) deserve special attention. Albertini's book is a collection of speeches delivered in the Senate between 1921 and 1928 and of articles in Italy's most authoritative newspaper, *Corriere della Sera* of Milan, which he edited until dismissed by the Fascists in 1925. One of Italy's leading liberals, Albertini made no compromises with Fascism and his book records the losing battle of the anti-Fascist elements. Like Albertini, Soleri refused to come to terms with the Fascists. The reminiscences of his activity as an influential exponent of Piedmontese liberalism encompass more than the four postwar years and take us back to the beginning of the century. While the book contains no startlingly new revelations, its scope provides greater perspective and roots Fascism not so much in the unrest which followed the end of the First World War as in the failure of the Italian state to develop a stable parliamentary regime. As minister of war in the Facta cabinet, Soleri is able to include considerable factual information on the last days of pre-Fascist Italy's democratic government. Unequal in quality and value, Sforza's work, more than half of which covers the period from 1914 to 1922, is nonetheless interesting for the postwar years.

Salandra's contribution differs considerably in tone from the three works

⁶ Originally published in 1924.

⁷ First published in France as *Six ans de guerre civile en Italie* (Paris, 1930).

⁸ Originally published in 1923.

⁹ The original Italian edition appeared at Paris in 1933.

¹⁰ General Emanuele Pugliese has refuted Lussu's accusations of army complicity in the rise of Fascism in *Io difendo l'esercito* (Naples, 1946), which reproduces the plans and orders prepared by the army to stop the Fascists. According to Pugliese, ultimate responsibility must rest with the Facta government which rejected them.

discussed above. Its title, *Memorie politiche*, is a misnomer. It is not a volume of memoirs but four essays in which Salandra discusses different phases of his political activity. Unlike Albertini, Soleri, and Sforza, who from the very first refused to support Fascism, Salandra collaborated with it until 1925. His book sheds light on the thinking of those in Italy who might be called the conservative liberals. These men (Salandra himself represented the large landowners of Apulia), drawn from the moneyed interests of the country, feared Socialism and Populism, the two major political forces in Italy's post-war parliaments. To them, Fascism represented a political counterforce which they hoped to use for their own ends. Many, among them Salandra, were convinced that, once in power, Fascism would function legally.

In *Come si giunse al 28 ottobre 1922* (Pisa, 1946) Romeo Masini provides a brief survey of Italian history from 1914 to 1922 but glosses over the tacit, and often open, support given to Fascism after 1921 by many in the Italian army, police, and judiciary. Giampietro Dore's *Dieci anni di lotta politica (1915-1925)* (Città di Castello, 1947) further illustrates the bitter party strife and rivalries during a crucial decade in Italian history. The government's activity vis-à-vis Fascism's growing strength is reported by Efrem Ferraris, an official of the ministry of the interior, in *La marcia su Roma veduta dal Viminale* (Rome, 1946). A Fascist's account of the early days of the movement can be found in Amerigo Dumini's *Diciassette colpi* (Milan, 1950). While it touches upon many aspects of Fascism, the book's chief value lies in the account Dumini gives of Matteotti's death.

Less informed, but perceptive in their observations on pre-Fascist Italy, are Giacinto Cremonesi's *Voci e moniti della vecchia Italia, dalla democrazia di Ettore Sacchi alla signoria di Roberto Farinacci* (Cremona, 1946); Vincenzo Galizzi's *Giolitti e Salandra* (Bari, 1949), containing interesting comments on the crisis of Italian liberalism; and Oliviero Zuccarini's *Esperienze e soluzioni: stato liberale, stato fascista, stato repubblicano* (Rome, 1945).¹¹ Stefano Jacini's *Storia del Partito Popolare Italiano* (Milan, 1951) is primarily concerned with the internal history of the Popular party from 1919 to 1926. However, it furnishes much insight into the political climate of those years and brings out the help given to Fascism by the right-wing factions of the democratic parties.

The memory of the Fascist era is perhaps still too fresh in Italian minds to permit the writing of truly objective history. Most of the studies which have so far appeared reflect, to some degree, the authors' subjective and emotional

¹¹ The first edition appeared in 1926.

reactions to Fascism and represent the raw materials of history rather than finished or definitive historical works. Within these limits, Giovanni Mira and the well-known Italian historian Luigi Salvatorelli achieve considerable objectivity in their attempt to show what Fascism meant politically, economically, and socially in Italian life. Their *Storia del fascismo: l'Italia dal 1919 al 1945* (Rome, 1953), which draws on the large documentation available, will certainly serve as the basis for future studies. By contrast, Stefano Jacini's *Il regime fascista* (Milan, 1947) attempts no comprehensive survey but limits its attention to the administrative policies of the Fascist state.

Three journalistic accounts bring out the individual's relationship to Fascism. Michele Vaina's *La grande tragedia italiana* (Milan, 1946-49, 3 vols.) follows Mussolini's career closely. Fidia Gambetti's *1919-1945: inchiesta sul fascismo* (Milan, 1953) originally appeared serially in the Communist press. While it does not deviate from the Marxist interpretation of history and must be consulted with care and discernment, it is a useful source for data on the underground opposition to Fascism.¹² The entire October, 1952, issue of the monthly *Ponte* presents a well-done, though necessarily brief, survey of Fascism entitled *Trent'anni dopo*.

Several studies limit themselves to different aspects and phases of Fascism. Massimo Rocca sketches its development from an inchoate ideology to an organized party in *Come il fascismo divenne una dittatura: storia interna del fascismo dal 1914 al 1925* (Milan, 1952). Antonio Serena Monghini's *Dal decennale alla catastrofe* (Milan, 1953) gives a most critical account of Fascism's last ten years in power.

Giulio Castelli illustrates relations between church and state in *La Chiesa e il fascismo* (Rome, 1951). On the basis of sources like the *Osservatore Romano* and *Civiltà Cattolica*, he concludes that they were cordial most of the time. Diplomat Amedeo Giannini's *Il cammino della conciliazione* (Milan, 1946) furnishes additional data on the negotiations which culminated in the Lateran treaties. Not to be ignored is the very comprehensive study on church-state relations by Arturo Carlo Jemolo, *Chiesa e Stato in Italia negli ultimi cento anni* (Turin, 1948), which gives historical perspective to the conciliation achieved during the Fascist era.

Ernesto Orrei's *La monarchia fascista* (Rome, 1944) analyzes the legal and political bases of the Fascist state and the steps by which Fascism took over the government. *La monarchia e il fascismo* (Rome, 1951) by Mario

¹² An important source on Communist underground activity during Fascism is the Italian Communist party's report to its members at the fifth party congress held shortly after the liberation of Italy. See *Per la libertà e l'indipendenza d'Italia: relazione della Direzione del Partito Comunista Italiano al V Congresso* (Rome, 1945).

Viana is an able and subtle defense of the monarchy. According to Viana, the king, a constitutional monarch, had no choice but to accept Fascism after the political leaders had failed to prevent its rise. Substantially the same thesis dominates Ugo d'Andrea's *La fine del regno: grandezza e decadenza di Vittorio Emanuele III* (Turin, 1951), which provides many details on the strained personal relations between the late monarch and Mussolini after 1937.

Fascist censorship receives attention in two works. In *Memorie inutili: la censura teatrale nel ventennio* (Rome, 1952) Leopoldo Zurlo, in charge of theatrical censorship from 1931 to 1943, reminisces on his work and includes verbatim his reports to Mussolini and the latter's replies. A brief but documented study of press censorship, based on the day-by-day directives of the ministry of popular culture, can be found in Francesco Flora's *Stampa dell'epoca fascista* (Rome, 1945).

Defensive in tone, but invaluable for the information it divulges on Fascist economic policies, *Battaglie economiche tra le due grandi guerre* (Milan, 1953, 2 vols.) by Felice Guarneri should be read carefully by anyone studying that phase of the regime's activity. Guarneri headed Confindustria, the Italian NAM, from 1920 to 1935 and was a high government official from 1935 to 1940. In these two capacities he helped to orient and direct Italy's economy under Fascism. Ernesto Rossi writes a penetrating analysis of the early help and later collaboration given by the large industrial interests, which Guarneri represented, to Fascism in *I padroni del vapore* (Bari, 1955).

A few books deal with Fascist justice and its police system. Mario Berlinguer's monograph, *La crisi della giustizia nel regime fascista* (Rome, 1944), provides critical observations on judicial procedures. Cesare Rossi, who followed Fascism in its early days to turn against it later, studies the record of the special tribunal during its first ten years of activity from 1927 to 1937 in *Tribunale speciale* (Milan, 1952). The most informed report thus far on the secret police is undoubtedly Guido Leto's *Ovra, fascismo, anti-fascismo* (Bologna, 1951). From 1922 to 1943 Leto, who, like so many other civil servants, claims to be apolitical, served in the political division of the Italian police. His book reveals how and why Ovra, the secret police, was organized in 1927 and sheds light on its functions and practices. It also includes details on anti-Fascist activity within Italy. Michele Saitta stresses the illegality of the secret police in *Dal terrorismo alla dittatura: storia della Ceka fascista* (Rome, 1945). *Quando ero capo della polizia: 1940-1943* (Rome, 1946) by Carmine Senise adds little new. Anxious to defend his actions as a

close collaborator of Mussolini, Senise fails to give an adequate picture of the last days of Fascist control over Italy.

Much first-hand information on police methods and judicial practices can be found in the memoirs of those who opposed Fascism. Their experiences are set down in such books as those of Barbara Allason, *Memorie di un'antifascista, 1919-1940* (Florence, 1946); Michele Giua, *Ricordi di un ex-detenuto politico, 1935-1943* (Turin, 1945); Arturo Colombi, *Nelle mani del nemico* (Rome, 1950); Alberto Iacometti, *Ventotene* (Milan, 1946); Mario Borsa, *Memorie d'un redivivo* (Milan, 1945); Mario Montagnana, *Ricordi di un militante* (Milan, 1947) and *Ricordi di un operaio torinese* (Rome, 1949, 2 vols.); Massimo Salvadori, *Resistenza ed azione* (Bari, 1951). These memoirs also help in estimating the vitality and scope of the underground movements. Constantly harried and persecuted, they were never completely extinguished by Mussolini's police.

A first systematic survey of anti-Fascist agitation has been attempted by Aldo Garosci in his *Storia dei fuorusciti* (Bari, 1953), but the book falls short of being a comprehensive treatment of the subject matter, for, as the title indicates, it concentrates on the nuclei of opposition outside of Italy. Interesting information on the anti-Fascist exiles and their influence on agitation and unrest within Italy can be found in Garosci's *Vita di Carlo Rosselli* (Florence, 1945, 2 vols.) and Vera Modigliani, *Esilio* (Milan, 1946).

Subjective interpretations of the nature of Fascism have proliferated. Sinibaldo Tini's *Il trentennio fascista: rilievi e appunti* (Rome, 1944) indicts Fascism as illegal, corrupt, and anti-Italian. Bortolo Belotti analyzes what it meant for Italy in *L'avventura fascista* (Milan, 1945). The historian Corrado Barbagallo tries to explain its nature in *Lettere a John: che cosa fu il fascismo* (Naples, 1946). The disillusion of those who hoped that Fascism would evolve legally is set down by Pietro Montoro in *Luci e ombre del passato regime* (Naples, 1950). A rejection of Fascism as a class movement appears in radical Socialist Arturo Labriola's *Dopo il fascismo: che fare?* (Naples, 1944). Enrico Caviglia, marshal of the First World War, rival of Badoglio, and probable supporter of Mussolini before 1925, has left a bitter review of the Fascist era in his *Diario: aprile 1925-marzo 1945* (Rome, 1952). While the personal shortcomings of Caviglia, an embittered man who felt he had been unjustly treated by his military colleagues, somewhat limits the value of the book, it is nonetheless useful in reconstructing the history of the years it covers. Carlo Bozzi's *La tragedia degli italiani vissuta da un italiano* (Rome, 1947); Aldo Palazzeschi's *Tre imperi . . . mancati* (Florence, 1946);

Emilio Giorgi's *Il dramma del popolo italiano* (Florence, 1945); and Francesco Flora's *Ritratto di un ventennio* (Naples, 1944) fill in additional details.

A record of individual tragedy and of the intellectual and moral vacuum created by Fascism in Italy emerges from many volumes of intimate revelations. Bianca Ceva, whose brother committed suicide in a Fascist prison cell, sensitively reflects the feelings of the liberal middle class, opponents of the regime, in *Storia di una passione (1919-1943)* (Milan, 1948). Franco Monicelli's *Vent'anni perduti* (Rome, 1945); Giacomo Perticone's *Due tempi: note e ricordi di un contemporaneo* (Turin, 1944); Adriano Tilgher's *Diario politico, 1937-1941* (Rome, 1946); Luigi Ventura's *Una generazione senza pace: dal "Diario dell'uomo scontento"* (Florence, 1944); Carlo Veneziani's *Venti anni di beffe, questo era il fascismo* (Rome, 1944); Luigi Peano's *Ricordi della guerra dei trent'anni, 1915-1945* (Florence, 1948); Paolo Treves' *Quello che ci ha fatto Mussolini* (Turin, 1945), all provide details on the squalor and cruelty of Fascism.

Its intellectual climate receives documentation in Sem Benelli's *Schiavitù* (Milan, 1945); Riccardo Bacchelli's *La politica di un impolitico: 1914-1945* (Milan, 1948); Corrado Alvaro's *"Quasi una vita" giornale di uno scrittore* (Milan, 1951); and Nicola Ciarletta's *L'enigma moderno* (Milan, 1947), the last being perhaps the most penetrating.

Three books, interesting for the light they shed on the attraction Communism holds for those who grew up under Fascism, are Lucio Lombardo-Radice's *Fascismo e anticomunismo: appunti e ricordi 1935-1945* (Turin, 1946); Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli's *Dal diario di un borghese* (Milan, 1948); and *Crisi di una generazione* (Florence, 1952) by Valdo Magnani and Aldo Cucchi, who have broken with Communism and now head a small, dissident leftist party.

Ex-Fascists with nostalgic memories who refuse to believe that the political system they followed could have led them and their country to such disaster have added their interpretations. Faithful to their own personal belief in Fascism, they seek to find the reasons for its failures in the men rather than in the principles. Some of their apologia are clever and persuasive and clarify the reasons which impel men to embrace a political credo like Fascism. The best is perhaps Giuseppe Bottai's *Vent'anni e un giorno, 24 luglio 1943* (Milan, 1949). Bottai, condemned for his Fascist activities in 1945 and pardoned two years later, has written an important book on Fascism. He does not repudiate his past. Rather, he openly accepts responsibility for his actions. Critical of Mussolini, he feels that Fascism failed because it became Mussolinism. His book, part history and part diary, covers the origins and

development of Fascism until its final ideological abdication to Nazism. Bottai also paints a vivid picture of the growing disintegration of Italian life from June, 1940, to July, 1943. Similar in tone, Camillo Pellizzi's *Una rivoluzione mancata* (Milan, 1948) also blames Mussolini for the failure of Fascism. Once in power, Mussolini abandoned many of the revolutionary tenets of Fascism and failed to complete the new social and economic order which Fascism, according to Pellizzi, envisaged. The same point of view dominates Eno Mecheri's *Chi ha tradito? Rivelazioni e documentazioni inedite di un vecchio fascista* (Milan, 1947), while Mario Rivoire's *Vita e morte del fascismo* (Milan, 1947) tells the story of Fascism as seen by one of its convinced exponents. Other works, more apologetic but illustrating the Fascist mentality, are the historian Francesco Rota's *Memorie della mia vita politica* (Treviso, 1950); Carlo Bozzi's *Oltre la disfatta* (Milan, 1952); and Franz Turchi's *Prefetto con Mussolini* (Rome, 1950). Most interesting is Edmondo Cione's *Tra Croce e Mussolini* (Naples, 1947).

No complete history of Fascist foreign policy has yet appeared. However, studies on its different phases and many primary sources, such as documents and reminiscences by men who played leading roles in its formulation and execution, are available. A short monograph by Luigi Salvatorelli, *Il fascismo nella politica internazionale* (Modena, 1946) ably sketches the tortuousness and inconsistency of Fascist diplomacy. Gaetano Salvemini's *Mussolini diplomatico (1922-1932)* (Bari, 1952)¹³ studies its record until 1932 in terms of Mussolini's personality and mentality. Limited to Italy's colonial policy, somewhat eulogistic in tone but useful as a factual source of information, Corrado Zoli's *Espansione coloniale italiana (1922-1937)* (Rome, 1949) reviews the diplomatic background of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.

When publication of Fascist diplomatic documents is completed by the present Italian ministry of foreign affairs,¹⁴ they will provide a rich store of primary sources for the diplomatic history not only of Italy but of Europe from 1922 to 1943. Actual publication has started recently and, at the time of writing, documents available cover events from October 31, 1922, to February 22, 1924, and from May 23 to October 24, 1939.¹⁵

¹³ Based on an earlier work, *Mussolini diplomate* (Paris, 1932), published in French, this Italian edition has been greatly enlarged, enriched, and documented with notes and appendixes. Incorporating much of the material included in *Mussolini diplomatico*, Salvemini carries the history of Fascist diplomacy through the Ethiopian war in *Prelude to World War II* (London, 1953).

¹⁴ As planned, the collection of documents, to be published in nine series, will total about a hundred volumes and will illustrate the foreign policy of monarchic Italy from 1861 to 1943. Series 7, 8, and 9 will cover the Fascist period.

¹⁵ Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Commissione per la pubblicazione dei documenti diplomatici,

The personal papers of Galeazzo Ciano, Mussolini's son-in-law and foreign minister, who later turned against him and was executed for his revolt, though they should be checked against other available sources, deserve careful consideration. His diary from 1937 to 1943 is available in three volumes:¹⁶ *Diario, 1937-1938* (Bologna, 1948) and *Diario, 1939-1943* (Milan, 1946, 2 vols.).¹⁷ It includes much information not only on Italy's foreign relations but also on the internal rivalries and feuds among the Fascist élite. *L'Europa verso la catastrofe* (Milan, 1948) makes available transcripts of almost two hundred conversations held by Ciano, in his capacity as minister of foreign affairs, with statesmen of other countries between 1936 and 1942 and additional material. This collection of documents throws light on many aspects of Italy's foreign policy and will remain the best source until the ministry of foreign affairs completes publication of the official record for these years.

Another very important primary source is Raffaele Guariglia's *Ricordi: 1922-1946* (Naples, 1950). The author, a specialist in the ministry of foreign affairs on European and Mediterranean problems when Mussolini came to power, continued his career under the Fascists. From 1932 to early 1943 he was successively ambassador to Spain, the Argentine, France, the Vatican, and Turkey, except for the months from April, 1935, to November, 1936, when, recalled to Rome, he headed a special office devoted to Abyssinian problems. After the fall of Mussolini, Guariglia became minister of foreign affairs in the Badoglio government. An intelligent, astute, and well-informed diplomat, Guariglia not only supplies insight into Fascist diplomacy but also draws a picture of the loyal civil servant who served Italy, no matter the government.

Other diplomats have made public many documents and have set down the record of Italian diplomacy as they were able to observe it from their posts. Thus, Pompeo Aloisi, Mussolini's *chef du cabinet* adds copies of reports and telegrams to his account of the steps leading to the Italo-Ethiopian conflict in *La mia attività al servizio della pace* (Rome, 1946). Dante Maria

I documenti diplomatici italiani: Settima serie: 1922-1935, I (Rome, 1953), Oct. 31, 1922-Apr. 26, 1923, II (Rome, 1955), Apr. 27, 1923-Feb. 22, 1924; *Octava serie: 1935-1939*, XII (Rome, 1952), May 23-Aug. 11, 1939, XIII (Rome, 1953), Aug. 12-Sept. 3, 1939; *Nona serie: 1939-1943*, I (Rome, 1954), Sept. 4-Oct. 24, 1939.

¹⁶ The published version is incomplete. No entries for 1936 are included. It also differs somewhat from the original, for after Ciano ceased to be minister of foreign affairs he made some changes in his records. For details see: Mario Toscano, editor of the 8th and 9th series of Italian diplomatic documents, "Fonti documentarie e memorialistiche per la storia diplomatica della seconda guerra mondiale," in Ettore Rota, ed., *Questioni di storia contemporanea* (Milan, 1952-53, 3 vols.), I, 531-92, and III, 1457-65, particularly p. 560. This article was first published in *Rivista storica italiana*, LX (1948), 83-126.

¹⁷ A word is perhaps in order on the American edition, *The Ciano Diaries, 1939-1943*, edited by Hugh Gibson (New York, 1946). It contains many errors and is generally unsatisfactory as a serious reference.

Tuminetti sheds some light on the change in Mussolini's policy toward Austria in *La mia missione segreta in Austria (1937-1938)* (Milan, 1946). Italian intervention in Spain and its catastrophic effect on subsequent Italian diplomacy are analyzed in *Fu la Spagna* (Milan, 1948) by Roberto Cantalupo, Italian ambassador to Franco in 1937. The Italian ambassador to Greece, Emanuele Grazzi, discusses Italian relations with that country during the months preceding the outbreak of hostilities in *Il principio della fine: l'impresa di Grecia* (Rome, 1946). Additional information on the same period can be found in *Prologo del conflitto italo-greco* (Rome, 1945), by Luigi Mondini, who was military attaché in the Italian legation at Athens.

The changing nature of relations between Italy and Germany receives study and documentation in several works. Mario Donosti's *Mussolini e l'Europa: la politica estera fascista* (Rome, 1945) is a contribution of high quality to the understanding of Fascist foreign policy, especially for the decisive years after 1937. An official of the ministry of foreign affairs, Donosti,¹⁸ like Guariglia, combines an intimate knowledge of his subject with an ability to analyze it critically. The impression, substantiated by other sources, which emerges from his book is that no long-range Fascist foreign policy existed. It was, rather, a series of improvisations dictated by the personal whims of Mussolini and Ciano. It must, however, be remembered that, despite his objectivity, Donosti speaks as a career diplomat.

In three carefully documented studies, Mario Toscano, editor of the eighth and ninth series of foreign policy documents listed earlier, concentrates on different aspects of Italo-German relations. *Le origini del patto d'acciaio* (Florence, 1948) utilizes unpublished material in Italian archives and other Italian and foreign sources to trace the origins of the Pact of Steel. *L'Italia e gli accordi tedesco-sovietici dell'agosto 1939* (Florence, 1952) contributes to the history of the Russo-German pact of 1939 and makes clear that Ciano and Mussolini received advance notice of the impending pact from the Italian ambassador to Moscow but ignored his communications. *Una mancata intesa italo-sovietica nel 1940-1941* (Florence, 1953) reviews the secret negotiations between Rome and Moscow during 1940 and 1941 to try to reach an understanding on their respective interests in southeastern Europe.

Part of the correspondence between Mussolini and Hitler has been unofficially published. The collection, *Hitler e Mussolini, lettere e documenti* (Milan, 1946), covers the years from 1939 to 1943. Some of the documents in it are incomplete and there are several important omissions. But they appear

¹⁸ Mario Donosti is the pseudonym of Mario Luciolli, a career diplomat and a member of the Italian legation at Berlin in the period preceding Mussolini's fall.

to be genuine¹⁹ and clarify the relationship between the two dictators as Italy's position vis-à-vis Germany changed from ally to vassal. An excellent brief introduction by Vittorio Zincone discusses Italian foreign policy after 1939.

Several memoirs fill in additional details. Dino Alfieri, who in May, 1940, replaced the able career diplomat Attolico as Italian ambassador to Berlin, reports on his activity in *Due dittatori di fronte: Roma-Berlino 1939-1943* (Milan, 1948). Of particular interest is Alfieri's account of the slowness with which Germany responded to Italy's requests for aid in the war effort. *Roma, Berlino, Salò (1936-1945)* (Milan, 1950) gives us the brilliantly written and provocative reminiscences of Filippo Anfuso, a Fascist diplomat who remained faithful to Mussolini until the end. It contains much useful material on the history of the Axis and information on Ambassador Attolico's unsuccessful attempts to keep Italy out of the war.

A book by a young career diplomat who did not occupy an important position but did enjoy a first-row observation post on Axis diplomacy is *Berlino, ambasciata d'Italia, 1939-1943* (Rome, 1946), written under the signature of Leonardo Simoni (pseudonym of Michele Lanza). A secretary at the Berlin embassy, Simoni, at the suggestion of Attolico, began to keep a record in diary form of what was going on in October, 1939, and continued to do so until September, 1943. From its pages emerges the growing and final subservience of Italy to Germany. Counterparts to Simoni's diary are Maurizio Belloni's *Uno come tanti* (Rome, 1948) and Massimo Magistrati's short monograph *Berlino 1939: da Praga al patto d'acciaio* (Florence, 1952). Belloni served in the office of the Italian military attaché at Berlin for a year before the armistice of September, 1943, and includes several little-known bits of information in his account. Magistrato recalls the events which culminated in the signing of the Pact of Steel. Though the two dictators referred to in the title of Renato Bova-Scoppa's *Colloqui con due dittatori* (Rome, 1949) are Salazar of Portugal and Antonescu of Rumania, his book proves useful in assessing Italo-German rivalries in Europe and provides additional evidence on the lack of firm diplomatic leadership in Rome.²⁰

One of the least attractive results of closer ties with Germany was the introduction of racial legislation in Italy. What it meant to the Jews of Italy is reported in Giancarlo Ottani's *Un popolo piange: la tragedia degli ebrei italiani* (Milan, 1945), Eucardo Momigliano's *Storia tragica e grottesca del*

¹⁹ See Mario Toscano, "Fonti documentarie," p. 557.

²⁰ The *Rivista di studi politici internazionali* should be carefully checked, as it has published numerous articles and considerable documentary material useful for the study of Fascist diplomacy.

razzismo fascista (Milan, 1945), and the official publication prepared by the ministry of foreign affairs for the Paris Peace Conference, *Relazione sull'opera svolta dal Ministero degli Affari Esteri per la tutela delle comunità ebraiche (1938-1943)* (Rome, 1946).

The military defeat suffered by Italy in the Second World War caused unrest among the Italian people and contributed to the downfall of Mussolini. In a historic session on the night of July 24, 1943, the Grand Council, supreme organ of the Fascist party and of the Italian government, revolted against Mussolini and passed a vote of no confidence, thus ending his twenty years of absolute power. One of the best accounts of this meeting can be found in Giuseppe Bottai's *Vent'anni e un giorno (24 luglio 1943)*, discussed earlier. Of lesser value are the two monographs by Dino Grandi, ex-minister of foreign affairs and ex-ambassador to England. The *Memoriale Grandi (l'idra fascista non è ancora morta)* (Bari, 1944) does shed some light on the July events, but *Dino Grandi racconta* (Venice, 1945), the translation of an essay which originally appeared in the *American Life*, is full of inaccuracies and errors.

Other sources which help in the reconstruction of that day's events are Guido Cassinelli, *Appunti sul 25 luglio 1943: documenti di azione* (Rome, 1944); Enzo Galbiati, *Il 25 luglio e la M.V.S.N.* (Milan, 1950); Vitantonio Napolitano, *25 luglio* (Rome, 1944); Francesco Orlando, *Mussolini volle il 25 luglio* (Milan, 1946); and Paolo Vittorelli, *Dal fascismo alla rivoluzione: storia della caduta del fascismo* (Cairo, n.d.), published by the anti-Fascist Justice and Liberty group abroad, but containing much documentary first-hand information.

Able descriptions of the way in which different groups of Italians greeted the fall of Mussolini appear in Paolo Monelli, *Roma 1943* (Milan, 1948, 5th rev. ed.); Iò di Benigno, *Occasioni mancate (1943-1944)* (Rome, 1945); and Ivanoe Bonomi, *Diario di un anno: 2 giugno 1943-10 giugno 1944* (Rome, 1947). All three report on the political temper which preceded the end of Fascism and include much data on subsequent developments. Monelli records the general rejoicing and lack of bloodshed which marked the announcement in Rome. Signora di Benigno reflects the sentiments of Italian military and aristocratic circles among whom the fall of Fascism produced fears of popular disorders, while Bonomi reveals the steps taken by the various anti-Fascist groups to revitalize democracy in Italy.²¹

²¹ A bibliography on the "crisis" of the Italian state from 1940 to 1945, as the authors call the disintegration of public authority in Italy, can be found in Franco Ravà and Giorgio Spini, "Fonti documentarie e memorialistiche per la storia della crisi dello Stato italiano, 1940-1945," *Rivista storica italiana*, LXI (1949), 404-31, 574-602.

Seriously compromised by Italy's record in the Second World War, many military leaders have felt obliged to present their case to the Italian people. Their contribution to the literature of the period which we are surveying is a very large one and covers logistic, strategic, tactical, and political problems.²² Works dealing with the purely military phases of the war fall outside the scope of this paper and will be omitted. Works, however, which discuss the military preparedness or, perhaps better, unpreparedness of Italy in the light of Fascist claims and illustrate relations between the professional military men and the Fascists are mentioned below. They serve to illustrate yet another phase, and an important one, of Fascism. The latter's failure to produce the effective military potential on which its strength ostensibly rested reveals further its dishonesty, corruption, and ineptness. Through all these books runs the awareness that the military must share with Fascism the responsibility for Italy's collapse between 1940 and 1943. They are therefore predominantly defensive in tone and leave many questions unanswered. But in showing the impotency of any one man or group of men in a dictatorship they reveal much on the Fascist era. Consequently, despite their limitations, many of them are useful, and often valuable, sources for the period.

The books by Generals Spigo and Favagrossa discuss the failure of Italian war preparations in terms of the nation's economic and industrial resources. For many years, before and during the conflict, both men occupied positions which gave them intimate knowledge of their subject matter and qualified them to write authoritatively. In *Premesse tecniche della disfatta (dall'euforia al disastro)* (Rome, 1946), Umberto Spigo, secretary general of Italy's supreme defense committee from 1934 to 1939, gives us a clear, impartial, and frank study. Examining the steps taken toward military preparedness by the government, he illustrates how Fascist leaders, from Mussolini down, lacked any awareness of logistics and failed to understand that a country with limited resources and scant productivity, like Italy, could not face a long destructive war. In charge of war production from 1939 to September, 1943, Carlo Favagrossa includes many documentary data on the economic and logistic aspects of Italy's war effort in *Perchè perdemmo la guerra* (Milan, 1946). Defensive in tone, the book lacks the objectivity which marks Spigo's account.

²² The historical section of the Italian ministry of defense has compiled a comprehensive bibliography on the Second World War which covers its military, political, and economic aspects, as well as the partisan movements. It lists both Italian and foreign publications. Ministero della Difesa, Ufficio storico, *Saggio bibliografico della seconda guerra mondiale* (Rome, 1949); *Supplemento* (Rome, 1951); *Secondo supplemento* (Rome, 1952). In 1950 the magazine *Libri e riviste* also published a list of books on the Second World War in the following issues: May, pp. 25-26; June, pp. 16-18; July, pp. 26-27; August, p. 26; September, p. 25.

General Francesco Rossi's *Mussolini e lo stato maggiore: avvenimenti del 1940* (Rome, 1951) complements the above works and describes the conflict between the army high command and Mussolini which, according to Rossi, began in 1935. Much background material on the Italian aggression in Greece is included. A penetrating study of high command circles and of the period immediately preceding the Italo-Greek conflict can be found in General Sebastiano Visconti-Prasca, *Io ho aggredito la Grecia* (Milan, 1946). Visconti-Prasca carries his story beyond the Greek campaign to depict the confusion and demoralization prevalent in the high command after the Allied invasion of Sicily.

Two books by General Quirino Armellini, member of the general staff for some months after Italy's entry into the war in May, 1940, bring out clearly the inner conflicts of the regime. In *La crisi dell'esercito* (Rome, 1945), Armellini describes the military policies of Fascism; the rivalry between the black-shirt militia and the army; the incompetence of officers appointed for political reasons; and the obsolescence of armaments. These weaknesses, Armellini maintains, were well known to Mussolini, who counted on a rapid German victory. The second work, *Diario di guerra: nove mesi al Comando supremo* (Milan, 1946) reports on confusion within the high command itself and on the rivalry between Marshal Pietro Badoglio and Mussolini.

Less informative, with many gaps and equivocations, Badoglio's *L'Italia nella seconda guerra mondiale: memorie e documenti* (Milan, 1946) begins with the last days of peace. Badoglio, however, chooses to concentrate on his activity as head of the government after the fall of Mussolini and refers only briefly to his position before the declaration of war on France and the subsequent invasion of Greece. The rather personal memoirs of General Mario Roatta, *Otto milioni di baionette: l'esercito italiano in guerra dal 1940 al 1943* (Milan, 1946), are rich in details on the preparation for and conduct of the war. While not documented, they confirm that, though the high command demurred at the attack on Greece, they did not seriously oppose it. Vivid and frequently critical, *Guerra e catastrofe d'Italia* (Rome, 1945-46, 2 vols.) by General Giacomo Zanussi is perhaps one of the best works of this type. As aide to General Roatta, Zanussi did not share in the responsibility of the high command and consequently writes more objectively, though he does attempt a veiled defense of Roatta.

Excerpts from the diary of Marshal Ugo Cavallero, who succeeded Badoglio as chief of staff in December, 1940, were published posthumously by his family in *Comando supremo: diario 1940-1943* (Bologna, 1948). Other

excerpts were used by his son, Carlo Cavallero, in *Il dramma del Maresciallo Cavallero* (Milan, 1952). Cavallero kept a careful daily record until he retired in January, 1943, after the fall of Tripoli, and his complete diary comprises twenty-eight volumes. Obviously, the published portions can only be fragmentary. Even so, they provide valuable data on the conduct of the war and on relations with the Germans.

A defense of Rodolfo Graziani, who of all the military leaders was perhaps the closest collaborator and supporter of Fascism, ending his career as commander of Mussolini's "republican" army, appears in two works. The more important is the stenographic account of Graziani's trial by Italy's democratic government, the *Processo Graziani* (Rome, 1948-50, 3 vols.).²³ It contains considerable documentation on the military policies of Fascism. Graziani's own *Ho difeso la patria* (Milan, 1948) is an unabashed defense of his actions against the accusation of being a traitor and has little value except to pinpoint the personality of one of Italy's foremost military leaders during Fascism.

An outspoken criticism of the navy's high command emerges from Admiral Alberto da Zara's *Pelle d'ammiraglio* (Milan, 1949), which covers the forty years of his naval career.²⁴ Admiral Oscar di Giamberardino discusses the naval policies of Fascism in *La marina nella tragedia nazionale* (Rome, 1947) and *La politica bellica nella tragedia nazionale 1922-1945* (Rome, 1945). The air force finds a spokesman in General Francesco Pricolo, who in *Ignavia contro eroismo* (Rome, 1946) depicts the role of Italian aviation in the Greek campaign. The Fascist war machine as it appeared to two field generals is described in Gustavo Reisoli's *Fuoko [sic] su Adolfo, fuoko [sic] su Benito* (Naples, 1948) and Mario Caracciolo di Feroletto's *E poi? La tragedia dell'esercito italiano* (Rome, 1947).

Fascism wrote its epilogue in the Italian Social Republic (RSI) of Salò in northern Italy from September, 1943, to April, 1945. Dominated by the Germans, Mussolini, with but a shadow of his former power, deluded himself and his followers and added a final chapter of violence to his career. Many of the high-ranking members of the republican government perished in the blood-letting which followed the capture and execution of Mussolini, but a number of lesser figures escaped to contribute eyewitness accounts of that

²³ I, *L'autodifesa dell'ex-maresciallo nel resoconto stenografico*; II, *Il testimoniale e gli incidenti procedurali*; III, *Il testimoniale nel resoconto stenografico*.

²⁴ Admiral Franco Maugeri is more circumspect in *From the Ashes of Disgrace* (New York, 1948), the original edition of which is the American one.

period.²⁵ They often provide useful information on the events of those months and, in many cases, constitute the only available source. Mainly defensive in tone, these works argue that the RSI performed a necessary function in maintaining at least a semblance of Italian authority in the northern part of the country and prevented the Germans from further spoliation. Some profess to see no difference between the RSI and the southern part of Italy under Allied control.²⁶ The relatively more objective reporters furnish a clear picture of the bitter internal rivalries, cruelty, incompetence, and subservience to Germany which characterized the brief existence of the RSI.

Con Mussolini nella tragedia (Milan, 1949), the diary of Giovanni Dolfi, Mussolini's private secretary from October, 1943, to March, 1944, contains much on German control over the rump Fascist republic and on the incessant intrigue which went on among Mussolini's followers and between them and the Germans. Further information on the inner conflicts and politics, as well as a description of the strains of war on the population in these areas can be found in Stanis Ruinas, *Pioggia sulla repubblica* (Rome, 1946). A convinced Fascist, but at the same time a careful observer, Ruinas reports on what he saw. He fails, however, to integrate his material into a comprehensive view of the RSI. Vito Saracista defends the presumably apolitical bureaucracy which tried to keep the state functioning to avoid the complete breakdown of all public services in *Con la Repubblica Sociale Italiana al servizio del paese* (Milan, 1952).

Three journalists depict the atmosphere of the RSI which combined the intrigue of the many with the perverted idealism of a very few. Giorgio Pini, editor of Bologna's *Resto del Carlino* and later undersecretary of the interior for the RSI, tells of his experiences in its clique-ridden circles in *Itinerario tragico (1943-1945)* (Milan, 1950), as does the editor of Milan's *Corriere della Sera* for this period, Ermanno Amicucci, in *I 600 giorni di Mussolini: dal Gran Sasso a Dongo* (Rome, 1948). Ugo Manunta left journalism to head a division of the RSI labor office. His *La caduta degli angeli: storia intima della Repubblica Sociale Italiana* (Rome, 1947) brings out that some in the RSI believed that Fascism could return to the revolutionary character of its early days.

Bruno Spampanato concludes his defense of Mussolini and Fascism in

²⁵ Some bibliographical data on the RSI may be found in *Italia che scrive*, April-May, 1949, p. 74; and August, 1949, pp. 46-47; and in *Libri e riviste*, September, 1950, pp. 31-32.

²⁶ This phase of recent Italian history represents a first stage in the post-Fascist development of democratic Italy and accordingly does not fit into our paper, but the following secondary sources will provide a basic understanding of its main problems: Agostino degli Espinosa's carefully documented work, *Il regno del sud, 8 settembre 1943-4 giugno 1944* (Florence, 1955, 2d ed.) and Angelo Gaiotti's *Dall'armistizio alla liberazione d'Italia: storia politica documentata dei primi governi dell'Italia libera* (Genoa, 1946).

L'ultimo Mussolini (Milan, 1952) and *Il segreto del nord* (Milan, 1952), Volumes II and III respectively of his *Contromemoriale*.²⁷ A much abler defense, documented from many sources, is *Due anni di storia, 1943-1945* (Rome, 1948-50, 3 vols.) by diplomat Attilio Tamaro. In *Storia della Repubblica Sociale Italiana* (Rome, 1951, 2d rev. ed.) Edmondo Cione, leader of the so-called "loyal" opposition in the RSI, supports the legal validity of the RSI and claims, like Manunta, that it met the needs of those who rebelled against the armistice and wanted to complete the Fascist revolution. Felice Bellotti writes a popular account in *La repubblica di Mussolini, 26 luglio 1943-25 aprile 1945* (Milan, 1947), citing no sources for any of his statements. Francesco Galanti limits his defense to the social and economic program of the RSI in *Socializzazione e sindacalismo nella RSI* (Rome, 1949), which consists of twenty-three documents and an introductory essay.

Two of Carlo Silvestri's books deserve notice, if only because of the contradictory personality of their author. Socialist, journalist, and one-time implacable opponent of Fascism, Carlo Silvestri functioned as secretary to the Aventine opposition in 1925, subsequently suffering imprisonment and persecution at Fascist hands. But in 1943, after a series of personal interviews with Mussolini, he became one of the apologists of Mussolini and the RSI. His works, *Mussolini, Graziani e l'antifascismo (1943-1945)* (Milan, 1949) and *Contro la vendetta* (Milan, 1948), document the author's strange moral turnabout.

A first-hand account of the foreign policy of the RSI appears in Alberto Mellini Ponce de Leon, *Guerra diplomatica a Salò (ottobre 1943-aprile 1945)* (Bologna, 1950). Ponce de Leon headed the foreign office secretariat in the RSI. His book includes both his diary and that of Count Mazzolini, his immediate superior and organizer of the foreign office for the Fascist republic. It provides important source material to reconstruct the singular diplomatic activity of the RSI. It should, moreover, not be ignored by any would-be biographer of Mussolini, for Ponce de Leon had almost daily contact with Mussolini during this period and includes many interesting reports and observations on Mussolini's physical and mental state. Defensive and polemical in tone, the study by Luigi Villari, *Affari esteri, 1943-1945* (Rome, 1948), does contain much useful information.

The Verona trials of those Fascists who voted against Mussolini at the meeting of the Grand Council can be reconstructed from several sources. Zenone Benini, *Vigilia a Verona* (Milan, 1949); Giuseppe Silvestri, *Albergo*

²⁷ I, *Da Monaco all'armistizio* (Milan, 1951) covers the last five years of Mussolini's career as Duce of Italy.

agli scalzi (Milan, 1946); Renzo Montagna,²⁸ *Mussolini e il processo di Verona* (Milan, 1949); Domenico Mayer, *La verità sul processo di Verona* (Milan, 1945); Livio Guidotti, *Il processo di Verona* (Rome, 1950); and Vincenzo Cersosimo, *Dall'istruttoria alla fucilazione: storia del processo di Verona* (Milan, 1950) are all useful. Together, they provide ample documentation on the trials, the personalities involved, and the issues at stake.

Two other documentary sources present different aspects of the RSI. The last writings and speeches of Giovanni Gentile, the Fascist philosopher who followed Mussolini into the RSI as president of the Accademia d'Italia and editor of the *Nuova antologia*, have been collected by his son in *Giovanni Gentile: dal discorso agli italiani alla morte—24 giugno 1943—15 aprile 1944* (Florence, 1951). The late Cardinal Alfredo Ildefonso Schuster of Milan records the end of the RSI in *Gli ultimi tempi di un regime* (Milan, 1946).²⁹

The only objective study, and the best so far, on the RSI is Giacomo Perticone, *La repubblica di Salò* (Rome, 1947), Volume III of his *La politica italiana nell'ultimo trentennio*, mentioned at the beginning of this essay. Following the practices of sound scholarship which distinguished his first two volumes, Perticone utilizes both public and private sources to paint a vivid and dramatic picture of Fascism's last days.

No study of Fascism can be complete without some awareness of the character and personality of Benito Mussolini. Since his death, countless biographies have appeared. Most of them range from the sensational to the panegyric and are of little use to the serious student. A few, however, achieve some, if not complete, objectivity. These, together with Mussolini's own writings, constitute a basic bibliography for study of the various stages of his career.³⁰

A carefully documented study by Guido Dorso, *Mussolini alla conquista del potere* (Turin, 1949), follows Mussolini until the march on Rome and emphasizes his political opportunism.³¹ In *Mussolini piccolo borghese* (Milan,

²⁸ General Renzo Montagna headed the RSI police and was a member of the supreme Fascist tribunal in Mussolini's republic.

²⁹ Riccardo Lombardi, one of the delegation of the CLNAI who negotiated the surrender of the Germans in Milan, questions and rectifies many of Cardinal Schuster's statements in "Il 'libro bianco' del Cardinale Schuster," *Ponte*, December, 1946, pp. 1053-61.

³⁰ A fairly complete bibliography, mainly on Italian sources and including works published before 1945, follows the brief essay by Paolo Alatri, "Benito Mussolini," in Ettore Rota, ed., *Questioni di storia contemporanea* (Milan, 1953), III, 759-96.

³¹ Almost the same period in Mussolini's career is covered by Gaudens Megaro, *Mussolini, dal mito alla realtà* (Milan, 1947), a translation of his *Mussolini in the Making* (New York, 1938) which has been revised and enlarged by the addition of new material and remains the best critical study of Mussolini's early days.

1950)³² Paolo Monelli has written a biography popular in tone but carefully documented from many contemporary and eyewitness sources. The result is a readable and reasonably accurate portrayal of Mussolini the man but not a profound study of Mussolini the leader of Fascism. *Un dittatore fallito ed i suoi complici* (Bologna, 1952) by Ignazio Brunelli, who resigned his professorship in constitutional law rather than serve Fascism, makes Mussolini the subject of a psychiatric case study based on the contradictions and lies to be found in Mussolini's own words. The result is interesting, though many of Brunelli's general statements and conclusions on the causes of Fascism remain open to question. Ezio Saini reviews the sequence of events which led to Mussolini's death in *La notte di Dongo* (Rome, 1950).

Susmel, de Begnac, and Pini have written able defenses which mingle criticism with praise and include much information on Mussolini's relations with his followers and on the inner workings of the regime. In *Mussolini e il suo tempo* (Milan, 1950) Edoardo Susmel criticizes Mussolini for having allied himself with Germany and for having failed to lead the Fascist revolution to its ultimate conclusion. Ivon de Begnac's *Palazzo Venezia, storia di un regime* (Rome, 1950) presents Mussolini as a benevolent despot betrayed by his entourage and etches sharply the struggle for power among the various Fascist leaders. Giorgio Pini, whose report on the RSI, *Itinerario tragico*, was noted above, tells of his earlier collaboration with Mussolini in *Filo diretto con palazzo Venezia* (Bologna, 1950). Pini, editor of *Popolo d'Italia* from 1936 to 1943, had almost daily access to Mussolini in these years. His book is useful for the data it includes on the way in which Mussolini manipulated the press. Pini and Duilio Susmel are collaborating on a detailed biography, *Mussolini: l'uomo e l'opera*, of which the first volume, *Dal socialismo al fascismo, 1883-1919* (Florence, 1953), has already appeared.

The writings of Benito Mussolini himself remain one of the best sources for the man and the regime. A brief autobiography written in 1911 and 1912 while Mussolini was serving a jail term for sabotage of the Lybian war has been published for the first time as *La mia vita* (Rome, 1947). Edoardo and Duilio Susmel are editing Mussolini's *Opera Omnia* (Florence, 1951—). To total thirty-five volumes when completed, this collection presumably will make available all his writings, including the more radical ones of his Socialist and early Fascist days. These were excluded from the official publications while Mussolini was in power. Some of the articles from the early years of the *Popolo d'Italia* have already been published by Duilio Susmel in

³² The English version, *Mussolini: The Intimate Life of a Demagogue* (New York, 1954) has been amplified and contains notes.

Venticinque scritti e un discorso di Benito Mussolini da lui proibiti (1915-1919) (Milan, 1950). Many of them contain violent attacks on the Italian monarchy, Germany, and the church and it is clear why in later years Mussolini banned their publication. Susmel has appended a useful list of all signed articles contributed by Mussolini to the *Popolo d'Italia* from November 15, 1914, to July 25, 1943.

Mussolini's last speeches and his political testament are available in *Gli ultimi discorsi: settembre 1943-aprile 1945* (Rome, 1948) and *Testamento politico* (Rome, 1948). A series of articles, contributed by Mussolini to Milan's *Corriere della Sera* from June 25 to July 1, 1944, represent his apologia to posterity. Subsequently published in book form, they are available in two editions. The first, a pamphlet drawn from the same type used by the *Corriere della Sera*, was titled *Il tempo del bastone e della carota: storia di un anno (ottobre 1942-settembre 1943)* (Milan, 1944). The second edition, corrected and amplified, came out as *Storia di un anno (Il tempo del bastone e della carota)* (Milan, 1944). Mussolini accuses the monarchy of having engineered the military defeat of Italy to rid itself of Fascism and lays before history his interpretation of the manner and causes of his downfall. Interesting contrast is provided by Franco Maugeri in *Mussolini mi ha detto: confessioni di Mussolini durante il confino a Ponza e alla Maddalena* (Rome, 1944), which quotes his statements before the Germans rescued him from the semi-imprisonment in which the Badoglio government kept him during the summer of 1943.

Finally, the place of Fascism in Italian history—whether it represents a purely native phenomenon or is the Italian manifestation of malaise endemic to Western civilization—has been analyzed and discussed in numerous studies. Some follow the pattern of Borgese's *Goliath*.³³ Others seek the answer in analyses of the Italian national character. Still others probe the weaknesses and failures of the Italian political system.³⁴

Two works which limit themselves to placing Fascism chronologically in Italy's historical development are Alfredo de Donno's rather factual *L'Italia dal 1870 al 1944: cronistoria commentata* (Rome, 1945-46, 2 vols.) and Giovanni Amadori-Virgiljo's more analytical *La guerra e la pace* (Rome, 1945, 3 vols.).

The young historian, Giovanni Spadolini, reappraises the political and social forces at work in Italy during the last two centuries in *Ritratto del-*

³³ Giovanni A. Borgese, *Goliath, the March of Fascism* (New York, 1937).

³⁴ A brief, but illuminating, survey of these divergent interpretations has been written by Nino Valeri, "Sulle origini del fascismo," in Ettore Rota, ed., *Questioni*, III, 734-57.

l'Italia moderna (Florence, 1948). He reviews the evolution of the Italian social structure in a companion volume, *Lotta sociale in Italia* (Florence, 1948), modeled on Oriani's classic analysis of Italy's political struggles.³⁵

A number of studies attempt socio-psychological analyses into the nature of the Italians and their history. Fabio Cusin has written two stimulating and challenging works of this type. In *L'Italiano: realtà e illusioni* (Rome, 1945) Cusin uses Freudian terminology to discuss Italian social and family mores. His *Antistoria d'Italia* (Turin, 1948) is a provocative interpretation of Italian history. But it suffers from present-mindedness, in that Cusin presents the Italian past in terms of Fascism and discards those facts which do not fit his predetermined pattern and conclusion.

A worth-while study of the Italian as an individual and as a member of society is Giorgio Fenoaletta's *Storia degli italieschi dalle origini ai giorni nostri* (Florence, 1945). The *italieschi* of the title are those Italians (a large number in the author's opinion) who always manage to rise above any situation by riding with the current. A bitter indictment of Italy's "traditional man," as Salvatore Satta calls him, can be found in his *De profundis* (Padua, 1948). According to Satta, the Italian "traditional man" lacks ideals and acts only from personal selfish motives and expediency. These led him to accept Fascism in 1922 and to reject it some twenty years later. Less pessimistic on the nature and character of the Italian people are Armando Foppiani's *Ubriacarsi con l'acqua* (Rome, 1949) and Rosario Ruggeri's *Psicologia e destino del nostro popolo* (Milan, 1945). A self-examination takes the form of a survey of Italian civilization in Silvio Guarnieri's *Carattere degli italiani* (Turin, 1948), which follows Borgese and Cusin.

Roberto Ducci's *Questa Italia: saggio sul fascismo e dopo* (Milan, 1948) tries to explain the gap between national aspirations and realities since 1870 and examines the significance and legacy of Fascism. After a careful marshaling of his facts, Ducci links Fascism to the problems of the modern world rather than to any specifically Italian historical characteristic. Agostino degli Espinosa reaches a similar conclusion in *Una crisi e due guerre* (Rome, 1948).

Dino Terra brings together thirty essays by different authors in *Dopo il diluvio: sommario dell'Italia contemporanea* (Milan, 1947). These dissect the dynamics of Italian society in often very penetrating terms. *Cento anni di vita italiana: 1848-1948* (Milan, 1948-49, 2 vols.), a second collection of essays, edited by the historian Corrado Barbagallo, is more traditional in outlook and treatment of subject matter than Terra's collection. The monographs in

³⁵ Alfredo Oriani, *La lotta politica in Italia: origini della lotta attuale (476-1887)* (Turin, 1892).

Barbagallo offer a general survey of Italian history and provide a panoramic view of the forces which have shaped the political, social, economic, and cultural outlines of contemporary Italy. Finally, the intellectual development of Italy in the arts, philosophy, literature, and historiography receives attention in *Cinquant'anni di vita intellettuale italiana, 1896-1946: scritti in onore di Benedetto Croce per il suo ottantesimo anniversario* (Naples, 1950, 2 vols.), edited by Carlo Antoni and Raffaele Mattioli and written by specialists in the various fields.

In conclusion, three analytical studies of liberty and politics in Italian life produce thoughtful interpretations of the role and influence of Fascism. Enzo Santarelli's *Il problema della libertà politica in Italia*, with a preface by Benedetto Croce, (Pesaro, 1946); Attico's³⁶ *Politica della verità* (Milan, 1947); and Paolo Treves' *È inutile aver ragione: saggio su trenta anni di paura* (Milan, 1949) avoid bitterness or partisanship in their analyses on the why's and wherefore's of Fascism.³⁷

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³⁶ Pseudonym of Agostino Lanzillo.

³⁷ Since 1945 the monthly *Ponte* and the weekly *Il Mondo* have published much on Fascism and should not be ignored by any student of the Fascist years.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Periodization in European History*

DIETRICH GERHARD

THE historian knows that any division of time into definite periods is artificial. Recent experience has taught him that even in the midst of upheavals and utter destruction there is no complete break with the past. Fragments of forms, whether of institutions or of buildings, are put back together and the old forms often reappear. Furthermore, the intensive historical research of the past few generations has increasingly revealed the complexity of every age. Old traditions persist while at the same time many different sources contribute to the formation of new currents. Yet, as soon as the historian leaves the field with which he is intimately familiar and attempts a wider view of the past, he must rely on abstract generalizations to give order and meaning to the complexity of history.

The concepts of periods are among the most potent of such abstractions. They are powerful not only in the community of scholars who, to use a phrase of Fernand Braudel,¹ first create these signs and then glue them on their precious bottles, to end by giving the signs authority over their contents. They carry even greater weight in the life of universities, where such notions as "medieval" or "modern" history continue to form the backbone of the organization of instruction, unshaken by the reforming zeal of deans or curriculum committees.

If we therefore must have chronological subdivisions, the periodization ought at least to be acceptable in the light of recent research and from the viewpoint of our own age. By these criteria we should be guided when we

* Read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in New York, December 28-30, 1954. In line with the program of the session the presentation is focused on institutions and society. The paper is a by-product of research on "The Steadying Forces in European History" with which I have been concerned for a considerable time. These studies have been greatly facilitated by a fellowship of the Guggenheim Foundation (1951-52), by a research grant of the American Philosophical Society (summer, 1954), and by a visiting membership at the Institute for Advanced Study (1954-55). I also gratefully acknowledge the co-operation of Washington University, St. Louis, in granting me sabbatical leave.

¹ "Qu'est-ce que le XVI^e siècle?" *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, VIII (1953), 70.

approach our specific subject, the division of European history into medieval and modern times.²

Since I am concerned principally with presenting a positive proposition, I shall be brief in my critical remarks. Attempts at a more limited periodization have resulted in terms such as the Age of the Baroque, of the Enlightenment, of Absolutism, of Nationalism—classifications which, while open to debate, at least try to reveal a dominant feature of a period. Unlike these, our customary main division into medieval and modern times is devoid of any meaning dependent upon an understanding of the periods themselves. The significance of the terms “medieval” and “modern” is either negative or it is derived from the relation of the period in question to another age: to the present, or to an earlier past, antiquity.

The negative connotation of the term “medieval” is already apparent in its early history when the philologists denoted the Latin language used in the period between antiquity and its revival by the humanists as that of a period of decline, of the “Medium Aevum.”³ Influenced by their practice, Cellarius in 1688 used the term to denote a historical period. Several decades passed before the new division of time replaced the older concept of universal history as a succession of empires under God. Until this time the scholars’ growing concern with the history of individual states and nations had not destroyed the common Christian tradition of regarding the history of mankind as shaped by God’s direct interference. In this tradition Christ’s incarnation formed the center of history and the Day of Judgment was to be the end

² Europe, for the purpose of this paper, is the world of the Latin Church, therefore excluding Russia. The influence of the West, however, on such border regions as the Ukraine, which Oscar Halecki, *The Limits and Divisions of European History* (New York, 1950) rightly stresses, should not be denied.

³ Numerous studies exist which deal with specific problems related to the interpretation of the Middle Ages, such as Lucie Varga, *Das Schlagwort vom Finsternen Mittelalter* (Baden, 1932). But I know of no history of the concept of the Middle Ages which could be compared to Wallace K. Ferguson’s *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (Boston, 1948). Luigi Sorrento, “Medio Evo: il termine e il concetto” in his *Medievalia: problemi e studi* (Brescia, 1943) is an interesting but not very detailed treatment. Giorgio Falco, *La polemica sul medio evo* (Turin, 1933) analyzes the attitude of historians toward the centuries of the Middle Ages. It leads up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, but is focused neither on the emergence of the term nor on the concept of the Middle Ages as a specific period. Sorrento (p. 47) and Falco (p. 92) show that Cellarius was influenced by his Protestant affiliation when he introduced the new division. Less convincing is Sorrento’s interpretation of the new terminology as specifically Protestant-German. The useful bibliography of textbooks in Emil Clemens Scherer, *Geschichte und Kirchengeschichte an den deutschen Universitäten* (Freiburg im Br., 1927) proves that the division according to empires was strongly entrenched in the German teaching program. Even when the popularity of Cellarius’ textbook made for the spread of the new division, a Protestant theologian opposed it in a special treatise. According to Karl Heussi, *Altertum, Mittelalter und Neuzeit in der Kirchengeschichte* (Tübingen, 1921), Protestant church historians adopted the new division about 1800. Leibniz’ use of the term in his *Nova methodus discendae docendaeque iurisprudentiae* in 1667 has often been misinterpreted. He was concerned with continuity, not with divisions. He distinguished topically between Roman, canon, and feudal law, the latter being the *Historia rerum Germanicarum seu Medii Aevi*.

of time. Werner Kaegi rightly dates the end of this old Christian concept from Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs* (1757),⁴ and relates the break to the advance of those forces which Paul Hazard in his *Crise de la conscience européenne* (Paris, 1935) shows to have been at work from 1680 to 1715: critical investigation of Biblical history; widening of the horizon, especially by the new interest in China; and the resulting new concepts of time and space, in line with the new scientific outlook. As a result of this new attitude, Italian history from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century was no longer interpreted merely as the period of the revival of learning but as an opening up of an age of social progress.⁵

A parallel development can be traced in geographical-political thinking where a realistic analysis of the interests of states had not, until the later seventeenth century, disrupted the concept of Christendom within which they were supposed to operate. Only then did writers increasingly use "Europe" instead of "Christendom."⁶ The two interrelated concepts of time and space—the succession of empires and the framework of Christendom—were replaced by new ones at the same time, at the turn from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century.

The popular division into medieval and modern times which replaced the traditional Christian chronology, however, shows little of the critical outlook of its progenitor, the Enlightenment. Negative and outward-centered, it had in common with the Enlightenment only a scorn for the "medieval" past and a faith in the future. The ever-more-thorough investigation of the past and the new historical sense which tried to penetrate into the specific character of past ages would have long since revealed the complete hollowness of such terms as medieval and modern but for the dead weight of institutional and literary tradition which preserved them.

In fact, the historical guild everywhere has shown its dissatisfaction with both terms. In this country we have added "recent history" to "modern history," and we have even introduced that misnomer "current history." The French established long ago the distinction "histoire moderne" and "histoire

⁴ "Voltaire und der Zerfall des christlichen Geschichtsbildes," *Historische Meditationen*, I (Zürich, 1942).

⁵ H. Weininger, "The English Origins of the Sociological Interpretation of the Renaissance," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XI (1950).

⁶ Apart from the study of Werner Fritzemeyer, *Christenheit und Europa* (Munich, 1931) the question has been investigated by Eugen Rosenstock Huessy, *Die europäischen Revolutionen und der Charakter der Nationen* (Stuttgart, 1951) and, largely following him, by Heinz Gollwitzer, *Europabild und Europagedanke* (Munich, 1951) and in his "Zur Wortgeschichte und Sinndeutung von Europa," *Saeculum*, II (1951). There is, however, beyond Rosenstock Huessy's penetrating and suggestive remarks and beyond Gollwitzer, who concentrates mainly on a later period, still room for specific research about the gradual progress of the concept of Europe in the seventeenth century. To me both authors seem to antedate its full adoption, which can hardly be placed before the late seventeenth century.

contemporaine," the latter fittingly starting with the French Revolution. The Germans followed suit with their "neuere" and "neueste Geschichte." Simultaneously historians began to divide the unfortunate "Middle Ages," and special national traditions made for discrepancies between these new terms: the French division into "haut" and "bas moyen âge" cuts right across the center of the German threefold division into "Früh-," "Hoch-," and "Spätmittelalter."

None of these terms is any more meaningful than the wider abstractions they try to split; they do not pretend to give expression to the strivings of the times themselves. We should replace them by divisions in line not only with the findings of historical scholarship through the last two generations but also—for the historian does not operate in a vacuum—with the perspective gained through the experiences of our own age.

This is the periodization which I suggest, and which, incidentally, seems to me also the best pattern for our introductory courses in European civilization:

First: Modern Europe—the "histoire contemporaine"—should be presented as beginning with the Enlightenment, with the Industrial and with the French Revolution. In this period the forces of political centralization (national or supranational, democratic or totalitarian), of social equality, of intellectual and economic change are more dominant than at any previous period. Even the changes since the late nineteenth century—imperialism as well as, eventually, Europe's completely changed position in the world—should be considered as the outgrowth of forces initiated and increasingly set free in Europe since the late seventeenth century.

Second: The long stretch of time from the eleventh to the eighteenth century, in spite of numerous changes, should be regarded as one unit, as the period of the "Old Europe." The "Old Europe" should be interpreted as a civilization which, though far from static, balances the forces tending in the direction of change, of centralization, of equality, by the power of tradition, by strong regional and local attachment, by the corporate setup of society. All these interrelated forces were entrenched in institutions as well as in the mores of society. The period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries should be defined as the formative period for the old Europe—just as formative as Hazard's period of the "Crise de la conscience européenne," the turn from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, has been formative for the new Europe. Previous to the eleventh century one cannot speak of *European* history.

Of these two interrelated theses I beg to omit the first from further elaboration since I assume that its basic contentions will be less controversial than those of the second. One need not be as deeply influenced as I am by Alexis de Tocqueville's interpretation of European and American history to agree on the following traits as cardinal features of the modern world: emphasis on economic and social change, not on tradition; on social equality, not on a stratified society; on uniformity by way of governmental centralization or by the pressure of social and economic forces, not on localism and regionalism. As for these last two points, probably no historian of modern Europe would deny that the decisive change from the old to the modern world took place in the night of August 4, 1789. Whether, however, this modern world is to be interpreted as different only in degree or as different in kind from the old, prerevolutionary Europe will depend on the evaluation of the relative importance of static and dynamic forces at work in the previous centuries.

In any concern with continuity it seems wise to approach the subject from both ends: in this case, to ask first what are the forces, and the institutions commensurate to them, which attained consolidation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and then to investigate to what extent these same forces still form an essential part of what since De Tocqueville and Taine is known as the *ancien régime*.

Since Charles H. Haskins in 1927 first coined the phrase, "the Renaissance of the twelfth century," historians have been attracted and puzzled by the term. Without in any way detracting from the great impulse which came from the studies of Haskins and his generation, one can fully agree with Eva Sanford's statement that the term is "both misleading and inadequate" and that the twelfth century "can stand on its own merits."⁷ The research of the last thirty years has shown with ever-growing strength the unique significance of this period. Many economic historians have expressed the opinion that in the history of the Middle Ages "the turning point—if there are any turning points in the history of civilization—lies . . . right in the middle."⁸ Lopez and Lestocquoy put the main emphasis as early as the tenth century,⁹ whereas Cipolla sees the change toward a bigger output and an increase in the circulation of money, related to a greater division of labor, coming with the twelfth century.¹⁰ Marc Bloch, speaking with the insight which the

⁷ "The Twelfth Century—Renaissance or Proto-Renaissance" (a paper first read at a session on the twelfth-century Renaissance at the 1950 meeting of the American Historical Association), *Speculum*, XXVI (1951).

⁸ Robert S. Lopez, "Still Another Renaissance?" *American Historical Review*, LVII (October, 1951), 2.

⁹ J. Lestocquoy, "The Tenth Century," *Economic History Review*, XVII (1947).

¹⁰ Carlo M. Cipolla, "Encore Mahomet et Charlemagne," *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, IV (1949), 5-9.

mastery of economic, social, institutional, and intellectual history gave him, wrote of "la grande coupure du 12e siècle, une des plus profondes qui aient jamais marqué l'évolution des sociétés européennes."¹¹ Constitutional and legal historians have demonstrated that the "Renaissance of the twelfth century" produced a more fundamental change than the later period conventionally called the Renaissance and was "more significant on a perspective of the whole of history."¹² Similarly Tellenbach sees the assimilation of the traditions of antiquity and the growth of a peculiarly Western structure as a very slow process. Only in the twelfth century did this process reach that stage of maturity which justifies a term like "the making of Europe."¹³

From about 1000 a marked change in the relations of Europe to the outside world takes place: in the West the period of conquest by invading groups from other civilizations comes to an end, in contrast to the Near and Middle East and to Russia, where such catastrophes are still to come. Instead, in the following centuries European expansion—in the crusades, in the *reconquista*, in eastern colonization—carries institutions and modes of life into new regions, many of which from now on become an integral part of the West. And whatever influences enter from the Arab or the Byzantine world can be absorbed into a system of ideas which has found and formed its own institutions. For, as a result "of that magnificent and inextricable conflux of the twelfth century,"¹⁴ the institutions common to the different European countries are molded into a more definite shape. Though constantly exposed to modifications, they remain in their basic structure the same, at least until the end of the Old Regime. Everywhere the influence of the Great Reform Movement, of the liberation of the church from secular control, of ecclesiastical centralization, of the great common efforts against the non-Christian world are to be felt.

From now on special types and functions of the cleric—the sacramental of the priest and that of the monk—are more distinctly set apart than ever before, and from the organization of the emancipated church and its government numerous influences radiate into secular society. The corporation concept of Romano-canonical law and more recently its concepts of full power and representation have been recognized as decisive factors in the formation

¹¹ *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, VIII (1936), 582.

¹² Charles H. McIlwain, "Medieval Institutions in the Modern World," *Speculum*, XVI (1941), 279.

¹³ Gerhard Tellenbach, "Die Bedeutung des Reformpapsttums für die Einigung des Abendlandes," *Studi Gregoriani*, II (1947), and his remarks on the twelfth century as a period of maturing and of new beginning in *Saeculum*, III (1952), 628.

¹⁴ Gabriel Le Bras, "Les problèmes du temps dans l'histoire du droit canon," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* (1952), p. 490.

of secular government on all levels at least as early as the thirteenth century.¹⁵ In this "second feudal age," to use Marc Bloch's phrase,¹⁶ the rational spirit of analysis and distinction continually penetrates through the universities the interrelated disciplines of theology, philosophy, and law. It lends itself to an organization of the social order which becomes characteristic for Europe from the British Isles to Poland and Hungary, from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean. The emergence of princely courts, related to the new ideal of chivalry, the establishment of the universities, the beginnings of the professional lawyer and of the trained official, the definite distinction between an armed nobility and a non-armed peasantry, the coexistence of knight and burgher, the highly stratified society of the cities, the intricate organization of municipalities and guilds—all these can be traced back to the twelfth century, the period in which Europe attains its maturity. Everywhere local pride and regionalism are interrelated with the privileges of the corporate society. The emerging centralized state, whether bolstered up by national parliamentary institutions, as in England or Hungary, or only directed by royal officials as in France, through centuries, right down to the end of the Old Regime, will have a hard time fighting these strongly entrenched counterforces.

From this very sketchy survey of institutions and social groups which I regard as characteristic of the structure of the old Europe it should be evident that, with all due emphasis on continuity, I am not willing to see in the formation of twelfth-century Europe the beginnings of our own times, as a number of scholars do.¹⁷ Certainly, the twelfth century more than any other period is indicative of the dynamic character of Europe, of the ever-new emanations of its rational, critical spirit which becomes a constituent element of the newly integrated West as early as the Aristotelian Renaissance, if not before. But to me it seems equally important that this concern with analysis and distinction lends itself in law and in social and political theory to the organization of the status quo in institutions and society. It is my contention that thus the corporate groups locally and regionally became consolidated and that in this way the rational spirit was enlisted through centuries to counteract centralization, social equality, and belief in change—through centuries, even past the age of the Renaissance and the Reformation.

For our question of periodization the Reformation, I believe, does not present a problem. It is nowadays generally agreed that, socially and intel-

¹⁵ Gaines Post, "Plena Potestas and Consent in Medieval Assemblies," *Traditio*, I (1943).

¹⁶ *La société féodale* (Paris, 1939-40) I, 95 ff., 184 ff.; II, 35 ff.

¹⁷ Johan Nordström, *Moyen âge et Renaissance* (Paris, 1933) and more recently Friedrich Heer, *Aufgang Europas* (Vienna, 1949), a penetrating and provocative but very one-sided study of the interrelations between spiritual and social movements in the twelfth century.

lectually, the breakup of medieval ecclesiastical unity had no far-reaching revolutionary implications. In his *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (London, 1926) R. H. Tawney shows that even among Puritans economic individualism gathered momentum only in the course of the seventeenth century.

The problem of the Renaissance certainly is much more complex. This much, however, can be said: the continuity of the Renaissance process since the thirteenth century has been demonstrated by recent scholarship to an ever greater degree. Within this process even the fight between humanism and scholasticism should be regarded as "merely a phase in the battle of the arts, not a struggle for existence."¹⁸ If I judge correctly, the claims for the Renaissance as the beginning of modern times are now put forward mainly under two different though related headings: one that Italy in the Renaissance developed into a kind of "prototype" of the modern world;¹⁹ the other that the Renaissance in the wider sense, i.e., Europe in the period from 1300 to 1600, should be interpreted as an age of transition from a mainly agricultural, feudal, and clerical to a mainly urban and secular society.²⁰

The Italian situation, however, is rather unique. As early as the twelfth century we find in the western Mediterranean an urban society which includes the nobility, something distinctly different from the rest of Europe. In addition, since the fourteenth century the imperial power, the traditional source of law and order, is in complete abeyance, simultaneously with the eclipse of the papacy, and at the very time when the Italian economy outstrips that of the rest of Europe. Italy's realistic approach to politics, her system of interrelated states, and her emphasis on the independence of the city state must be considered against this background. Even if we accept, with these reservations, the concept of Italy in the Renaissance as the "prototype" of the modern world, what would this mean for the course of Italian history and what within the wider framework of European history?

During the past few decades historians, while much concerned with the origins and the meaning of the Renaissance, have paid relatively little attention to the question of its persistence and of its lasting effect. But are we

¹⁸ Paul O. Kristeller, "Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance," *Byzantion*, XVII (1944-45), 372, to be reprinted in his forthcoming *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*.

¹⁹ This is the formulation of Hans Baron, who somewhat varies an older phrase of Jacob Burckhardt. Among Baron's many writings on the Renaissance, his "Towards a More Positive Evaluation of the Fifteenth-Century Renaissance," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, IV (1943), is especially important for our question. The other contributions to a Renaissance symposium in the same volume, some of which were first read at the Renaissance session of the American Historical Association meeting in 1941, are also pertinent to the subject.

²⁰ Wallace K. Ferguson, "The Interpretation of the Renaissance," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XII (1951).

really to explain what may be called the refeudalization of Italy²¹ since the late sixteenth century merely as a result of Spanish influences? And did Napoleon's administration have less of a task in Italy than anywhere else in Europe where he tried to introduce the principles of social equality and of political centralization? And if Renaissance principles of government and of foreign policy later were adapted to the wider European scene, did this process not stretch over almost two hundred years? How slow and gradual was the advance of the concepts of "reason of state" and of "interests of state" which Meinecke traced!²² Is it not significant that "balance of power" and "system of states" became recognized frames of reference only at the time when the term Middle Ages was coined and when these so-called Middle Ages were finally relegated to the past, i.e., in the late seventeenth century? The unity of Christendom and even the idea of a crusade against the Turks were meaningful realities for early seventeenth-century England,²³ and I am convinced that Richelieu's power politics should not be severed from the background of the Catholic revival within France and from his acceptance of the hierarchical order of society to which his "Political Testament" bears witness. The persistence of grade and stratification well into the eighteenth century has been revealed increasingly by recent research. The alliance between the crown and the merchants and financiers was a mere matter of expediency. At the top of the social pyramid the crown remained intimately connected with a nobility whose feudal characteristics had by no means disappeared. I have attended many sessions at historical conventions in which the old myth of the alliance between crown and middle class as a main feature of a period has been exploded. But nobody was willing to draw the conclusion that our whole interpretation of these centuries of earlier modern history needs to be revised. Now that I have a chance to have my own say, I would like most emphatically to make such a statement.

If, therefore, in Wallace Ferguson's sense we speak of a period of transition from a mainly agricultural, feudal, and clerical to a mainly urban and secular society, this period will fill a wider span than his three hundred years, 1300-1600. I am inclined to replace this whole notion by the concept of the old Europe which, constituted in its fundamental social and political features since the twelfth century and lasting to the eve of the Industrial and of the French Revolution, from the very beginning has room for kings,

²¹ Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949), p. 616, speaks of "une énorme revanche de la terre et des campagnes sur les villes."

²² Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte* (Munich, 1924).

²³ Franklin Le Van Baumer, "The Conception of Christendom in Renaissance England," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, VI (1945).

nobles, and peasants as well as for burghers and city life in its manifold variations—just as church and state interpenetrated each other through all these centuries. Only at the end of this period, in the late seventeenth century, the mounting movement of secularism comes into the open, metaphysics is supplanted by science, the new concern with the “Why,” with “Becoming,” replaces the old fixation on the “What,” on “Being.”²⁴

It is under these conditions—in a climate of opinion which through the eighteenth century is more and more permeated with the new belief in progress—that eventually also the power of the so-called absolute king is accepted as a main factor toward such progress. Only at a late stage do we find a program of absolutism for the public. We have merely to trace the history of that document which is usually regarded by historians as representative of the theory of absolutism, the Danish *Lex Regia* of 1665, to find that it was not published in full before 1709 and that only with the centenary of the “Enevalde,” in 1760, was it propagandized as a theoretical elaboration on the nature of royal power.

It is well known that at the height of absolutism, in the middle of the eighteenth century, Montesquieu contrasted the European monarchy, the guardian of law and privileges, with despotism. It is, however, much less well known that at the end of the sixteenth century Jean Bodin had expressed himself in a similar way: “If you eliminate corporate groups and communes you will ruin the commonwealth and you will change it into a barbarous tyranny.”²⁵

Through centuries, at least since the fourteenth century, we find—and not only in France—two types of service under a ruler, the office and the commission. On the former, the office, individuals and their families have a claim, often since they have bought them; or in some other way they are reserved for regional families, usually of the nobility. In whatever form these claims become fixed they are always an indication of the strength of the corporate regional group, and in their turn they contribute to its consolidation—part of a process which continues until the French Revolution and which might best be described as the feudalization of offices. Institutionally how much weaker, as compared with these strongly entrenched groups, was the position of the revokable representative of the prince, of the commissioner. Only in the course of the eighteenth century did its most famous and efficient type, the French intendant, succeed in building up a salaried staff, and even then he

²⁴ These are the terms of Basil Willey, *The Seventeenth Century Background* (London, 1934), p. 6.

²⁵ This is a recurrent theme of Book III, chapter 7 of the *Six livres de la république* (Paris, 1580).

cannot be regarded as such an uncompromising agent of royal centralization as De Tocqueville describes him.²⁶ About the same time, in the middle of the eighteenth century, an efficient bureaucracy was first established in Prussia and later in Austria.

Parallels to the administrative situation can easily be found in other fields. In taxation, even in the eighteenth century, a direct contact between individual taxpayer and government very rarely existed, since individual assessment and levying of taxes was widely left to local groups. Moreover, at least until well into the seventeenth century we frequently find the old notion that the government should rely on its own resources and only in exceptional cases should take recourse to taxation. In jurisdiction neither equality before the law nor uniformity of the law had been attained and a centralized system of appeal was by no means everywhere in force.

Even where the *arcana imperii*—armed forces and diplomacy—are involved, painstaking research in the origins of institutions has shown that centralized standing armies do not antedate the later seventeenth century. And though permanent embassies can be traced back to the late Renaissance, it should, on the other hand, not be overlooked that in foreign policy the arguments of expediency, of balance of power, of rounding off, etc., are intermingled with legal justifications of warfare whose “medieval” origin in the form of feudal claims or hereditary rights is apparent; remember the wars of succession which lasted until the eighteenth century.

Tradition, privilege, regional and local attachment, corporate organization are the outstanding and permanent features in the structure of society. The enforcement, or at least the attempt at enforcement, of dress regulations stretches from the late Middle Ages through the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, and the mixture of moral, social, and economic motives which caused them can be traced through all these phases. Conflicts about precedence at the Corpus Christi procession, the highest festival in every Catholic city, frequently occurred, but the strictly sustained formalism of precedence, the most noticeable outward sign of the city’s stratified society, was never questioned or abandoned.

In most cities the area and the fortifications remained fundamentally the same from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, when the larger city walls were built. Changes on a larger scale were introduced only when the forti-

²⁶ The close social affiliation of the intendants with the established families of the *noblesse de robe* and their individual rise via the expensive membership in the corporation of the *maîtres des requêtes* had not been recognized by De Tocqueville. Pavel Ardashev, *Les intendants de province sous Louis XVI* (Paris, 1909) questioned whether they were completely immune against absorption by the regional society and gave examples of connection of families with special provinces, pp. 131 ff.; this, however, is controversial.

fications were dismantled. This happened at various times: rarely before the late seventeenth century, not infrequently only in the late nineteenth century, and some have survived to the present day. But almost always three factors contributed to such a change: local defense became meaningless, the levying of excise at the city gates lost its importance, and a system of state roads—or later of other means of transportation—demanded an opening up of the city. All of these were indicative of the development toward the centralized state and toward a more uniform society. A similar change is traceable in the naming of streets after men of authority or of renown from outside the city and in the numbering of houses—all of which started in the eighteenth century.²⁷

Adapting Lopez' previously quoted expression I would like to say: the second turning point—if there are any turning points in the history of civilization—lies right at the middle of the so-called modern times, just as the first lies right at the middle of the so-called Middle Ages. Only if we survey the *whole* of European history since the eleventh century, and not with an exclusive emphasis on the final results in the last two centuries, do we become aware of what tentatively may be called European civilization—i.e., of the form in which, after a long process of gestation, and under the impact of the reform movement of the eleventh century, the heritage of antiquity was finally assimilated by an emerging European society.

In Muscovite Russia we find none of the elements which from this time on were peculiar to Europe: a universal church, centralized, and distinct in its different organs; knighthood and often corporately organized feudalism; municipal organization, patriciate and guilds; universities and learned professions. It has often been pointed out that the development of Muscovite autocracy has been greatly enhanced by the absence of these very elements, which in numerous ways acted as a check on arbitrary power in the West. The final break between the East and the West came in the eleventh century, in connection with ecclesiastical centralization. As a result the Orthodox East, especially Russia, did not participate in the great spiritual and intellectual movements which formed the West. Did not the Slavophiles indict the West for its spirit of rational theological and legal distinction and regard intellectualism as its cardinal sin?

Even for understanding the later differences within Europe and the differences between America and Europe it is worth while pondering the relative strength of these older traditions. Their transformation—in representative

²⁷ From a somewhat different angle I have dealt with these and related problems in "Regionalismus und ständisches Wesen als ein Grundthema europäischer Geschichte," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXXIV (1952).

government, for instance, or in municipal organization or in educational institutions—into forms more suitable to the modern industrial and technological society is a main theme in the later history of the West.

Why, on the whole, have historians been so little inclined to analyze systematically the features which modern Europe previous to the French and the Industrial Revolutions had in common with the so-called Middle Ages? To deal with permanent features over a long period of time is not the natural function of the historian. The nature of his research causes him to observe and to stress changes and the transition to a new phase more strongly than, for instance, the cultural anthropologist does. Furthermore, the extreme specialization which we cannot avoid makes the historian concentrate usually on a very small period. As a result he is likely to regard some of its features as new or as lasting changes which, in reality, are recurrent struggles between opposite tendencies without any permanent result. A colleague of mine used to say, "The trouble with the middle class is that it is always rising." One could make a similar statement with regard to many other historical concepts, such as capitalism, the modern state, the system of states. Ever since Ranke wrote of Philip the Fair, "*Durch sein ganzes Dasein geht schon der schneidende Luftzug der Neuere Geschichte*," these modern traits of kings and ministers have been investigated with great thoroughness. But rarely has this research been matched by an appraisal of the actual effectiveness of their measures. Certainly the interest, if not in rise, at least in change seems congenial with most modern historians.²⁸

But it seems to me that to a considerable extent we also suffer from the consequences of the attitude of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century historians. They, even more than we, regarded the past as first and foremost a phase in the development leading up to their own times. Even Augustin Thierry, who was among the first to stress that each age has features peculiar to itself, was inclined to read the concepts of his own time into the past. He was driven to his research by the idea that progress and unity came through the Third Estate and through co-operation of crown and Third Estate. The myth of an early democracy in the cities, which he faithfully propagated, has since been destroyed. But I wonder whether in our conventional division between the Middle Ages and modern times, a product of the eighteenth century, we do not unwittingly follow the lead of these early historians. It seems to me that we still overstress the exclusively feudal and clerical character of the centuries preceding the Renaissance as well as the tendency of crown and

²⁸ The title of our main series in modern history is significant: "The Rise of Modern Europe," edited by William L. Langer.

burghers toward emancipation from clerical and feudal influences in modern times.

Recently Fernand Braudel remarked against an “histoire à ondes longues” —one ought never to forget that in life everything is mingling, realities of long, of medium, of short duration.²⁹ Yet our concepts of periodization by necessity deal with long spans of time. Should we then not select a span over which a certain amount of unity is traceable? If we are to have periodization, with all its implications for the organization of teaching, ought we not at least to have meaningful periods?

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²⁹ *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, VIII, 70.

South Carolina—A Protagonist of the War of 1812

MARGARET KINARD LATIMER

YOUNG Mr. Calhoun entered Congress prepared for a showdown. It was June 3, 1812, and the ambitious congressman from South Carolina would recommend war against England. The Foreign Relations Committee, of which he was chairman, had deliberated only two days on President Madison's message, but, after a forceful report in favor of war, John C. Calhoun presented a bill of declaration. A majority of the House followed his lead and on June 4 passed the act, the Senate concurring with some reluctance on June 18. Madison's signature, also of June 18, marked the official beginning of war.

The grievances against European powers for interfering with American ships and sailors on the high seas had gathered momentum in a continuous stream of events for more than a decade. The Jeffersonian policy of conciliation, restrictive measures, minimum armaments, and "peace at any price" had generally insured against violent ruptures.

Until the Twelfth Congress, legislation aimed at France or England had in reality been a jockeying of party strength in Congress. Although party voting was far from regular, the major portion of the Republicans and the Federalists debated hotly on the embargo and the succeeding restrictive measures. The erratic stands of the Quids accentuated the hodgepodge nature of congressional opinion as did certain courses taken by the New Englanders. Believing that the Republicans would never be forced into a war, Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts and many of his fellow New England Federalists voted steadily for armament and naval increases in order to antagonize the administration. Quincy wrote to Harrison Gray Otis on November 26, 1811, even suggesting that New England stand for war.¹ However, when it became evident that the young Republicans in the Twelfth Congress had plunged their peace-loving party into just that war, the Federalists pitched their tents in the opposite camp.

Henry Adams estimated that only a third of Congress was in favor of war early in 1812, yet on June 4 the bill in the House was carried 79-49.² The crystallization of sentiment had been the work of an enthusiastic group

¹ Samuel E. Morison, *Letters of Harrison Gray Otis* (Boston, 1913), II, 33-34.

² Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America* (New York, 1889-91), VI, 170.

of leaders in the Twelfth Congress who were responsible for a notable change in congressional foreign policy within the span of a few months. The story of the "War Hawks" is familiar, but still eminently impressive. It is important enough to warrant amplification and correction.

Of the five or six major "War Hawks" prominent in most accounts of the war, three were young South Carolina Republicans in Congress for the first time. John C. Calhoun, William Lowndes, and Langdon Cheves arrived in Washington with a motive in mind; they came if not pledged, at least committed, to oppose the prevailing Republican foreign policy. These three leaders in the war group frequently initiated actions so far from the old Jeffersonian line that even their fellow War Hawks sounded some misgivings.

Calhoun made his real debut in the Twelfth Congress on December 12, 1811, when he spoke in opposition to the mercurial John Randolph. The subject before the House was the recommendation for armament made by the Foreign Relations Committee, which in the opinion of Mr. Randolph and many others had veered well off the Jeffersonian course. In an effective rebuttal, Calhoun presented ideas still further from the original tenets of the Republican party, which he nominally represented. "I know of but one principle to make a nation great," reasoned the South Carolinian, "... and that is to protect every citizen in the lawful pursuit of his business. ... Protection and patriotism are reciprocal."³ These sentences seemed almost to echo a phase of Hamiltonianism.

The second South Carolinian, Langdon Cheves, as chairman of the Naval Committee spoke at length in January maintaining the power of the President to use voluntary militia forces in time of war. Such nationalization, obviously anathema to old-line Jeffersonians, also appeared unduly risky to some of Cheves's belligerent cohorts. Later that month when Cheves requested an appropriation for twelve seventy-fours and twenty frigates at the cost of seven and a half million dollars, he was supported by a large number of the war group as well as the Federalists, but the bill failed by a close vote of 62-59. Clearly prompting Cheves's individual efforts were the underlying objectives of the South Carolinians—an effective navy and its complement, free-flowing international trade. William Lowndes of South Carolina, speaking on behalf of the frigates, well illustrated their policy:

The Constitution was not formed for the exclusive protection of commerce, but for the defense of all the interests of the United States. ... But is it in this nation, and at this time that the profits of commerce are confined to the merchant? Your trade was, a few years ago unrestrained and flourishing—did it not enrich the

³ *Annals of Congress*, 12 Cong., 1 sess., p. 479. All subsequent references to *Annals* except where specified denote the Twelfth Congress, First Session.

most distant parts of your country? It has since been plundered and confined. Does the industry of the country languish? Is not the income of every man impaired?⁴

The concern of South Carolina with commerce became increasingly obvious. When the Committee on Foreign Relations in March, 1812, planned a ninety-day emergency embargo—information about which was supposedly to be withheld from public notice until passage—Calhoun opportunely informed Josiah Quincy, leader of the New England commercial interests. Eastern longshoremen were consequently set at work to load as many ships as possible and clear them from the ports, and undoubtedly the southern waterfronts were in the midst of similar activity.⁵

The joint efforts of Lowndes, Cheves, and Calhoun were directed in April toward a measure to authorize the importation of goods from Great Britain which had been contracted for before February, 1811. Having no success with this, on June 19 Cheves introduced a bill for the suspension of non-importation, and Calhoun hastened to its support: "The restrictive system, as a mode of resistance . . . has never been a favorite one with me. . . . I object to the restrictive system."⁶ In essence, Calhoun was rejecting on the floor of Congress the major basis of the Jeffersonian foreign policy.

When Calhoun led his fellow congressmen in requesting a declaration of war, he was displaying not only the views of the three most aggressive South Carolina representatives but a real solidarity in the constituents whom he represented. True, not all eight South Carolinians in the House voted as a bloc on every measure. David R. Williams, chairman of Military Affairs, had been in Congress during most of the Jeffersonian decade and accepted in general such established party measures as restriction, yet he had always acted independently and as early as the Tenth Congress had looked favorably toward war. He spoke forcefully for the cause of armaments and resistance to Great Britain: "It has been said our Constitution is not calculated to sustain a war. It surely is not calculated for submission."⁷ The other representatives, Moore, Earle, Butler, and Winn, had also been in earlier Jeffersonian Congresses, the latter two prominent Revolutionary soldiers. They belonged to a different generation from the young Calhoun, Cheves, and Lowndes, and their approaches to problems were similarly varied, but they shared fundamental principles based on the desires of their constituents at home. A majority of South Carolina representatives did support Cheves's bill for

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 886.

⁵ For Quincy's report of the incident, see *Niles' Weekly Register*, II, 110.

⁶ *Annals*, pp. 1281-1312, 1511, 1539.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 682. Williams was a Charleston planter. See James H. Wolfe, *Jeffersonian Democracy in South Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1940), p. 218; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX.

frigates, and all voted for the added military forces. When the crucial vote was taken, South Carolina cast a solid eight for war. The two senators, Gailard and Taylor, likewise voted in its favor. Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia, casting in the House five, three, and three votes respectively, were the only other states which were unanimously in favor of war with England.⁸

The "War Hawks"—primarily from the four above-mentioned states—were given special emphasis by Julius W. Pratt in his *Expansionists of 1812*, which set forward in 1925 what has become one of the most popular and widespread theories regarding the War of 1812. Basically, Pratt asserts that the Southwest and its war-minded leaders gave a major impetus to the war. Singling out the war group in Congress is highly significant in tracing the origins of the war sentiment, but the further direction taken by the Pratt school is more open to question: the "Southwest," including South Carolina as well as the inland states, is depicted as desirous of war largely because of an urge for frontier expansion and a concern with the Indian question. These basic ideas repeatedly occur in historical literature, most recently in a 1954 popularized account of the war, even though varying shades of doubt have from time to time been cast on the Pratt thesis. Not well enough known perhaps is the work of George Rogers Taylor in 1930 describing the dire economic conditions in the Mississippi Valley preceding the war and the resulting attitude of the western farmer toward international affairs.⁹

In A. L. Burt's study, *The United States, Great Britain and British North America* (1940), it is maintained that the War of 1812 was fought primarily for maritime rights; Burt discusses with thoroughness the diplomatic wrangles with Britain and France from the turn of the century onward, as an offshoot suggesting pertinent objections to Pratt. A historiographical article of 1941 by Warren H. Goodman gives a good progressive account of theories regarding the causes of the war, although it was unhappily prepared before the publication of Burt's work. Goodman does, however, make several elucidating observations about the Pratt thesis and takes successful issue with various of its aspects. Pointing to the need for much further investigation, Goodman concludes that the causes of the War of 1812 are still "singularly uncertain."¹⁰

⁸ *Annals*, pp. 287, 1637. There were no negative votes from these states. Senator Pope of Kentucky, however, did not favor war and refrained from voting on the issue. He did not thereby represent the feelings of his constituents, because his action resulted in disgrace at home and defeat in the next election. See John Bowman to Stephen F. Austin, Aug. 5, 1813, *Austin Papers*, ed. E. C. Barker, American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1919, II, 227-28.

⁹ See currently, Glenn Tucker, *Poltroons and Patriots* (Indianapolis, 1954). The Taylor work appeared in two articles: "Agrarian Discontent in the Mississippi Valley Preceding the War of 1812," *Journal of Political Economy*, XXXIX (1931), 471-505; and "Prices in the Mississippi Valley Preceding the War of 1812," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, III (1930), 148-63.

¹⁰ Warren H. Goodman, "The Origins of the War of 1812," *Mississippi Valley Historical*

Although South Carolina is included as an integral segment of the "South" and "Southwest" in the Burt and Pratt theses respectively, little has been said specifically about South Carolina's part in the drive for war. Nor in the many studies of John C. Calhoun has more than scant attention been given to his basic stands in the Twelfth Congress. During this era, South Carolina has been simply catalogued with the Jeffersonian states because of its nominal support of the Republican party in national elections from 1796 onward, and Calhoun and his fellow South Carolina "War Hawks" are neatly fitted into the same package. Many of the ambiguities associated with "Jeffersonian democracy" are regularly applied to South Carolina, which did of course share in the countrywide liberalizing trends. Sufficient attention has been given to the formal rise of the Republican party to control within the state;¹¹ yet too often overlooked in this period of history have been the other factors which explain South Carolina's important relation to the war and which at the same time elucidate the state-centered aims of the "young nationalist" Calhoun.

A unity had developed in the life of South Carolina which helped it achieve a share in the leadership of the nation at this critical period and which was to give impetus to its sectional prominence down to the Civil War. At the core of this unity was a fundamental political oneness which persisted despite the interplay of the two political parties. The spread of the electorate as settlement moved into the upcountry after 1800 indicated a liberalizing trend in South Carolina as did the election of an increasing number of young men to state offices; but the coming of age of the younger generation, who called themselves Republicans, had no effect on the ever-lingering conservatism in South Carolina which is normally associated with the Federalists. The upcountry farmer either young or old was severe and puritanical; he was also ambitious to gain the position in which he saw the planter slightly more prosperous than he. The planter as well as the farmer felt at all times that it was the purpose of government to maintain the orderly social and economic system, to protect the status quo. The representatives of the newer political alignment, led by the inherently conservative Charles Pinckney,

Review, XXVIII (1941), 171-86. Goodman's conclusion is based on the fact that nineteenth-century authors dealt primarily with military events and the twentieth century has netted only monographs on restricted phases of the question. No writer has attempted to "correlate and synthesize the various sets of causes," weighing the relative importance of the factors. Goodman makes an able suggestion of some eleven fields for investigation.

¹¹ J. H. Wolfe in his *Jeffersonian Democracy in South Carolina* gives a thorough factual discussion of this movement. Although the term "Jeffersonian democracy" has come into popular use, I question its preciseness of meaning for any area and especially with regard to South Carolina. Wolfe, however, is making in his title a correct distinction between the liberalism of this era and that of Jackson's, which South Carolina never accepted. See Wolfe, p. 286.

were never enthusiastically "Republican" as a party group; they were indeed a distinct political faction increasingly dominant in South Carolina, but they upheld an all-pervading South Carolina political philosophy in much the same measure as their forerunners, the Federalists.¹²

Even though there were overwhelming numbers of Republicans in the state after 1800, many prominent conservatives of the purely Federalist variety were not without significant influence. The original solons of South Carolina politics had operated under the Federalist banner, and the presence of a Republican majority did not mean that the respect offered the older men came to an end. Thomas and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of course, were venerated elders. Abraham Blanding, William Crafts, William Drayton, Stephen Elliott, Daniel E. Huger, Keating Simons, and Henry W. DeSaussure, all notable Federalists, continued to wield a considerable power in state politics well after 1800.¹³

Of the thirty-four men recorded in the *Dictionary of American Biography* as outstanding in South Carolina political life from 1800 to 1812, one finds, surprisingly enough, that fifteen professed themselves Federalists. Contemporary accounts also indicate the political activity of these men: documents from Josiah Quincy were circulated by William Crafts among many "friends who still dare to call themselves Federalists, of whom there yet are many," and Henry W. DeSaussure wrote to Quincy that "many wise and good men view the course pursued by the Administration as you do. . . . They take a moderate share in the affairs of our own state, and are respected and permitted to have some share in the management."¹⁴ DeSaussure, incidentally, had just been appointed to the Equity Bench by the Republican legislature. National crises during this period called forth widespread town meetings in which citizens joined together to pass resolutions. Participating on the local committees were as many nominal Federalists as Republicans—Keating Simons, William L. Smith, and Thomas Pinckney in company with Langdon Cheves, William Lowndes, and Peter Freneau.¹⁵

Major issues in state politics brought to the fore a rather uncanny agree-

¹² Certain items in early South Carolina politics are interesting in this respect, in particular South Carolina's relation to the Virginia-Kentucky Resolutions, the vote on the Jefferson-Burr tie of 1800 in the Federal House of Representatives, and the nature of the Republican leader Charles Pinckney. On the latter, see Irving Brant, *James Madison, Father of the Constitution* (Indianapolis, 1950), pp. 79, 132.

¹³ There is a discussion of the South Carolina Federalists from the Revolution to 1800 in Ulrich B. Phillips, "The South Carolina Federalists," *American Historical Review*, XLV (1909), 742.

¹⁴ Edmund Quincy, *Life of Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1867), pp. 191, 192.

¹⁵ *Charleston Courier*, Aug. 30, 1809, May 21, 1912, etc. In Georgia, similar public meetings also included representative Federalists. See John E. Talmadge, "Georgia's Federalist Press and the War of 1812," *Journal of Southern History*, XIX (November, 1953), 496-97.

ment between the Federalist and the Republican members of the legislature. In fact, the part played by Federalist legislators in passing measures which are considered liberal and "Jeffersonian" is little short of amazing. The founding of South Carolina College in 1801 was a very special monument not only to the progress but to the unity of the state; it was located in Columbia, clearly a part of the upcountry, yet the impulse for the college was a patrician one solidly supported in the lowcountry Federalist circles.¹⁶ The bill calling for a change in proportionment of representation was passed in 1807 with only two votes against it in each house. Some of the major pressure in its behalf had been exerted by Federalists, Robert Goodloe Harper having been especially active in this realm during the 1790's. The legislative act itself was introduced in 1807 by Abraham Blanding, a Federalist legislator from Kershaw, and had probably been prepared by Judge Daniel E. Huger, Federalist of Charleston.¹⁷ Another notable gesture by a Federalist was the bill for free schools introduced into the legislature in 1811 by the botanist Stephen Elliott.¹⁸ There seemed to be no particular clash of interests on basic issues between the majority Republican party and the minority Federalist party within the state. Their respective philosophies merged in concerted activities which were subsequently issued under the name of Republicanism.

The preponderance of Republicans in South Carolina politics within the state obviously was not the result of a distinct break with the older South Carolina Federalist school, nor did the South Carolina Republicans in national circles represent a close tie to national Republican policies. Actually the Republican party was so diverse that its national objectives defied accurate definition. Few would claim that Jefferson himself was consistent in political philosophy and actions. As an administrator, he initiated a duality which underlay the whole Republican era. His first inaugural spoke for restraint in government; the second showed the Jefferson who would negotiate the Louisiana Purchase and plan numbers of prospective states across the Mississippi, the Jefferson who found in the Constitution powers during the embargo which rivaled the hated Alien and Sedition Acts. The Jeffersonian

¹⁶ J. L. Petigru in later years claimed that the college was a work of the Federalists. Whether or not this was strictly true, Hollis describes it as an undertaking of lowcountry aristocrats. See Daniel W. Hollis, *South Carolina College* (Columbia, 1951), pp. 5-6. The patrician influence in the South Carolina legislature is interesting as contrasted with the rampant Republican Assembly of 1800 in North Carolina; the University of North Carolina was deprived of a portion of its income for fear the institution was drifting toward aristocracy. Delbert H. Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, 1789-1816* (New York, 1931), p. 142.

¹⁷ William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina," *A.H.A. Annual Report*, 1900, I, 408, 428. This bill became a Constitutional amendment in 1808. See David D. Wallace, *History of South Carolina* (New York, 1934), II, 373, for information on Huger's preparation. Harriet Ravenel, *Life and Times of William Lowndes* (Boston, 1901), pp. 70-71, less convincingly ascribes the authorship to Lowndes.

¹⁸ Wolfe, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 175.

tradition to which his followers have pointed sets up a noble set of social values, the secret of which is an appeal to America's better self, to her idealism and simplicity. However, Jefferson made no headlong attack upon established institutions to make his principles work; Leonard White points out that "the Jeffersonian era in the field of administration was in many respects a projection of Federalist ideas and practice. . . . The ambivalence reflects the duality of the Republican party and of Jefferson himself."¹⁹ The Jeffersonian party drew to it a tremendous variety of interests, and South Carolina had become a part of this group.

South Carolina's agrarian economy was one of the major factors which drew her originally into the Republican fold. But it was the growing preoccupation of South Carolina with the international commerce necessary to make agriculture profitable that took her somewhat off the path envisaged by Jefferson. Attacking the traditional Jeffersonian international policy, the Republican William Lowndes said to Congress, "The interests of agriculture and commerce are inseparable. What is commerce but the exchange of the surplus produce of . . . one nation for those of another? . . . it is this commerce which makes agriculture valuable."²⁰ Such a positive stand was not unusual, for South Carolina never demonstrated a very close adherence to the national party. The local Republican group so well represented the interests of the planting-business community of the state as a whole that its standard-bearers received almost no opposition from the Federalists in elections for national representatives, and the delegates in turn exercised a notable independence and lack of partisanship in Congress. Edward Hooker's description of Wade Hampton, one of the prosperous upcountry Republicans, was almost generally applicable to South Carolinians: "In his politics he is, I hardly know what. He is called a republican; yet he certainly has many notions and sentiments which are more characteristic of federalism. And he does not hesitate to condemn openly, and unequivocally some measures of the republican party."²¹

¹⁹ Leonard D. White, *The Jeffersonians: A Study in Administrative History, 1801-1829* (New York, 1951), p. vii.

²⁰ *Annals*, pp. 805-806.

²¹ J. Franklin Jameson, ed., "Diary of Edward Hooker, 1805-1808," A.H.A. *Annual Report*, 1896, I, 847. Among other South Carolinians in Congress who acted independently was Senator John Gaillard, who broke from his party in voting against the Chase impeachment. Thomas Sumter consistently voted against nonintercourse and the embargo; he and D. R. Williams have been singled out as particularly nonpartisan spirits among the Republicans. Senator John Taylor, concerned by the depressing effects of the embargo, worked for less extreme measures; he was the real author of Macon's Bill No. 2, which did grant some relief. See Albert J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall* (Boston, 1919), III, 218; Anne King Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter* (Columbia, S. C., 1931), p. 260; Wolfe, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, pp. 203-206; letter to Joseph H. Nicholson from Nathaniel Macon, Apr. 10, 1810, in William E. Dodd, *Nathaniel Macon* (Raleigh, N. C., 1903), p. 259.

Calhoun, Cheves, and Lowndes had come to prominence in this era of independent Republicanism and conservative political unanimity. Calhoun was from Scotch-Irish upcountry stock, although the holdings of his father put him easily in the category of "planter."²² After early training at the academy of Moses Waddell in Georgia, Calhoun went to Yale, where his seriousness and sternness must have made him well fitted for Timothy Dwight's domain. This Federalist president had a prevailing influence over the students at Yale College, and it seems unlikely that Calhoun was untouched by his ideas. Experience in the Charleston law office of Henry W. DeSaussure and formal study at Litchfield Law School in Connecticut under Federalists James Gould and Tapping Reeve contributed further to Calhoun's background of conservatism. In 1811, his marriage to Floride Calhoun, a cousin who belonged to wealthy Charlestonian society, gave the Republican uplander a direct tie to the older, more staid South Carolina lowcountry.

Calhoun was a lawyer in the Piedmont region at the time that the Chesapeake-Leopard affair provoked indignant public meetings in many localities. His first chance at public oratory came when he was requested by the Abbeville committee to write and present its resolutions denouncing the incident; shortly thereafter he was elected to the state legislature, and in 1810 he became a representative to the United States Congress.

Langdon Cheves, also newly elected to Congress in 1810, had both upcountry and lowcountry connections as did Calhoun. He was born in Abbeville, a Piedmont district, and later became a lawyer in Charleston. The third new congressman, William Lowndes, was of lowcountry planting origin, and his attractive and intelligent wife was a confirmed Federalist, the daughter of Thomas Pinckney.²³

Calhoun, Cheves, and Lowndes, Republicans with backgrounds strongly marked by conservative influences, expressed in the Twelfth Congress the conservatism which had become characteristic of South Carolina's "Federal"-Republicanism. All three were men of outstanding leadership abilities; and, when they made demands in the interest of their state, they also revealed a strong bent toward nationalization. Though nationalism can be the manifestation of both liberal and conservative movements, in 1811 nationalizing measures were definitely the latter. The conservatives during the Constitution-making era were the nationalists, and the South Carolinians were of this

²² Patrick Calhoun is credited with over 1000 acres of land and 31 slaves in 1790. Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun*, II (Indianapolis, 1944), 17-23. See also Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, II, 386.

²³ See *DAB*, IV, XI, for biographies of Cheves and Lowndes; also Ravenel, *Life and Times of William Lowndes*.

breed—conservatives in their desire to preserve the prevailing socio-economic system of their state. They sought federal power to protect this way of life.²⁴ Their nationalism was thus, in a sense, a sectionalism in disguise.

Calhoun, Cheves, and Lowndes were elected to Congress in 1810 with "reference to the critical condition of the country."²⁵ They were all in a belligerent mood, and they had spoken vigorously in pre-election campaigns. A clear statement of Calhoun's views on international affairs had been set forward as early as the Republican caucus in 1808: reviewing the struggle between the United States and European powers, he labeled the resort to the restrictive system an inefficient means of preserving American rights and pointed out that war with England was unavoidable. He later saw "in the low price of the produce, the hand of foreign injustice."²⁶ British minister Augustus J. Foster, who met the representatives in Washington, noted that the South Carolina members of Congress were "resolute," "particularly the younger Deputies . . . who seemed to have great influence and were very cool and decided on the propriety of going to war in order to protect the Commerce of the Country."²⁷ The South Carolina congressmen had a vital interest in the "Commerce of the Country," because on it depended the future of the prosperous economic developments which had taken place in South Carolina during the first decade of the nineteenth century.

By 1811 the entire state was in the middle of a tremendous cotton boom. The value and practicability of upland-grown short-staple cotton had become immediately apparent upon invention of the cotton gin and were demonstrated after the introduction of the gin into South Carolina in 1801; at the same time the demand for cotton went up as machine methods of manufacture became standard in England. When the slave trade was reopened in 1803, cotton production proceeded at full speed. South Carolina doubled its cotton output in the ten years following 1801, producing forty million pounds in 1811; the state had begun to export approximately forty per cent of the total cotton exports of the United States.²⁸ As David Ramsay wrote in 1808, cotton "has trebled the price of land suitable to its growth, and when the crop

²⁴ Whether nationalization was a rightist or leftist move perhaps became questionable during the Jacksonian period. If one assumes Calhoun always to have been a conservative, his inconsistencies which appeared during the Jackson era have some basis for explanation.

²⁵ [John C. Calhoun], *Life of John C. Calhoun* (New York, 1843), p. 8.

²⁶ *Annals*, p. 482. For Calhoun's own description of the 1808 caucus at which he opposed the nomination of George Clinton for Vice President, see *Life of John C. Calhoun*, p. 7.

²⁷ MS Notes, Augustus J. Foster Papers, Library of Congress; see also MS Diary, Apr. 15, 1812, L.C.

²⁸ The amount of cotton produced in South Carolina is an approximation made by Frederick J. Turner, *Rise of the New West* (New York, 1906), p. 47, based on a group of figures. See Matthew B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry* (New York, 1897), Appendix I, p. 358, for total yearly cotton production and exports of the United States in 1811. See *Niles' Weekly Register*, I, 399, for exports of each state in 1811.

succeeds and the market is favorable, the annual income of those who plant it is double to what it was before the introduction of cotton."²⁹

The increased use of the Negro slave was of course necessary for the phenomenal expansion of upland cotton, and during these years a constantly growing number of farmers and planters acquired property in slaves. It is important to note, however, that in twenty-three out of twenty-eight districts in 1810 whites still outnumbered blacks, the popular image depicting masses of Negroes working on all the farm lands being far from correct.³⁰ True, in coast districts such as Charleston and Colleton the black population was actually much greater than the white, but here cotton and rice production had probably been expanded to the limit before 1800 since the percentage of slave population even decreased slightly in the period 1800-1810. It was the upcountry legislators who insisted on the reopening of the slave trade in 1803, for it was their region in which cotton and slavery were spreading. A look at the United States Census figures for 1790, 1800, and 1810 shows as expected a steady increase in slaves for upcountry districts, the largest proportional gain coming after 1800. The following are sample Piedmont districts:³¹

| | York | | Greenville | | Edgefield | |
|------|--------|--------|------------|--------|-----------|--------|
| | Slaves | Whites | Slaves | Whites | Slaves | Whites |
| 1790 | 923 | 5,652 | 606 | 5,888 | 3,619 | 9,805 |
| 1800 | 1,804 | 8,417 | 1,439 | 10,029 | 5,006 | 13,063 |
| 1810 | 3,164 | 7,828 | 2,391 | 10,739 | 8,576 | 14,433 |

When the upland area like the coast became a significant producer of cotton, South Carolina could boast an amazing unity of economic interest. Corollary to this economic development was of course the spread of political power into the upcountry and the resulting era in which political and cultural oneness increased steadily. This unanimity of interest, political and economic, exhibited itself under the name of Republicanism.

The enactment of the embargo by the federal government in 1808 exactly coincided with the full realizations of South Carolinians that the primary economic interests of the state were much the same from coast to hill country, that a continuance of the cotton-planting system was essential to all areas. The discomforts brought on by the embargo gave the state an even greater unity as both sections were prey to the economic forces which made prices go

²⁹ David Ramsay, *History of South Carolina* (Newberry, S. C., 1858), II, 121.

³⁰ Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation*, p. 392, gives a map of the enlarging "Black belt" which shows a much greater preponderance of Negroes in South Carolina at this date. However, he lists no source. Census of 1810 bears out the above statement. See *Niles' Weekly Register*, I, 309.

³¹ *Ibid.*, I, 309. See also Wiltse, *Calhoun*, II, 146.

up at the same time that profits decreased. The southern agriculturalists incurred constant expenses whether or not their products sold, but the traditional planting system had to be kept. Manufacturing had no chance to develop because after 1803 the capital of the South had gone into buying slaves; the area was already in debt to New England.³²

The Charleston *Courier* reported on January 20, 1808, that cotton was down to twenty-five cents per pound, and on February 10, 1810, that it had fallen to fourteen cents. A contemporary observer reported that in order to make ends meet, the South Carolinians had to get at least twenty cents for their cotton.³³ One should note that the critical drop in price came between 1808 and 1810; this difference may partially account for South Carolina's growing concern with the world situation during that period, for attitudes which varied from passive endurance to active belligerence. The South Carolina legislature in June, 1808, had expressed its willingness to enforce the embargo, but in reporting the resolutions to Jefferson, Speaker Joseph Alston did tell the President that they represented a wholehearted patriotism, not necessarily a "perfect unanimity of political opinion."³⁴ As economic conditions became tighter, there was growing resistance to the embargo and to its successor, nonintercourse.

Calhoun's public speech against the embargo in 1808 has already been cited. Governor Charles Pinckney in December, 1807, blamed disputes with Great Britain for "an almost total stagnation of commerce and stoppage of the sale of produce"; this caused "the great inconvenience of merchants and planters."³⁵ Fear that the international situation would bring the loss of markets gave impetus to such news stories as that which noted the phenomenal growth of South American cotton sales in Liverpool. By June, 1812, there were reports that cotton planters had been forced to turn to corn, that some upcountry men were turning to wheat.³⁶ The situation in Charleston is well mirrored in the letters of Margaret Izard Manigault to her mother: cotton prices of 1811 were down to eight cents; money in town was almost nonexistent; and worst of all, since early 1809 there had scarcely been a party.³⁷

South Carolina depended on unrestricted trade—on "commerce" as British minister Foster called it—because this was a region where people cultivated

³² *Ibid.*, II, 45.

³³ MS Notes, Foster Papers.

³⁴ Note Wade Hampton's letter of April, 1808, and other comments in Wolfe, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, pp. 222–25.

³⁵ Charleston *Courier*, Dec. 2, 1807.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1809; June 2, July 3, 1812.

³⁷ Margaret I. Manigault to Alice Izard, February, 1809, Dec. 1, 1811, Ralph Izard Papers, II, III, Library of Congress.

the soil, sold most of what they produced, and purchased most of what they consumed. Although the nonimportation law which succeeded the embargo in 1809 was often unenforced, general economic conditions kept on the downgrade as long as there was a controversy with England, the chief purchaser and provider in the South.³⁸ By the time of the Twelfth Congress, the tone of the South Carolina legislature had changed notably from that of 1808. This group sent resolutions to President Madison demanding that definite action be taken to protect commerce and the honor of the nation. A firm stand from the beginning, it was explained, might have prevented much loss to agriculture. D. R. Williams vigorously expressed the sentiments of his state before Congress:

But what is the condition of the commerce with Great Britain. . . . Truly miserable. . . . How is tobacco affected? . . . Inquire into the state of the cotton market; where is the crop of 1810? A curse to him who meddled with it. Where is that of 1811? Rotting at home in the hands of the grower, waiting the repeal of the Orders in Council.³⁹

South Carolina had developed a decided urge for war. Excited by considerations of her primary livelihood, the export trade in cotton, South Carolina became one of the main protagonists of the conflict. This was not the largest or wealthiest state in the union, but it had one special qualification for national leadership in 1812—the most at stake in the domestic export trade; South Carolina had more exports per individual white person than any other state in the union. With only 3.6 per cent of the total white population of the United States, South Carolina exported 10.3 per cent of the domestic goods.⁴⁰ Whether or not fighting a war with England was the logical step to take as a remedy to the commercial and thus agricultural distress is not the question—the South Carolinians of 1812 were convinced that a war would help.

To assess the total internal and external forces which produced the War of 1812 will call for the investigation of a multitude of factors not yet understood. The effort in this paper has been primarily to set forth the position of

³⁸ Wolfe, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 236; *Niles' Weekly Register*, I, 133. Incidentally, Great Britain received 60 per cent of the American cotton exports in 1811. Hammond, *Cotton Industry*, p. 358.

³⁹ Speech of Jan. 6, 1812, *Annals*, p. 686. See also speech of Governor Henry Middleton giving a justification for war. *Niles' Weekly Register*, III, 275-76.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 237, for figures from the Census of 1810; I, 399, for exports, domestic and foreign, for each state in 1811. South Carolina had 214,196 white population of the total 5,905,782 whites in the United States. (Counting the slave population full value, South Carolina had 5.8 per cent of the total.) South Carolina's domestic exports were valued at \$4,650,934, while the total was \$45,294,043. Maryland came close to South Carolina in trade per individual; with 3.9 per cent of the white population, her domestic trade was 10 per cent. However, she also had over 14 per cent of the total shipping trade, a factor which would greatly complicate her attitude toward war.

South Carolina with regard to the war, thereby pointing out in particular the significant part played by the direct trade of the United States, by foreign markets for staple products, in determining the course of events.

In the realm of international diplomacy, A. L. Burt's study goes farther than any other in explaining how the United States, entangled with both Great Britain and France, finally chose war with Britain. Burt's suggestions regarding the attitudes of the various sections of the United States toward going to war are also well directed. Making note of the fact that the South was sorely pinched for markets (and South Carolina indeed received considerable support in her war effort from Georgia, Virginia, and North Carolina), Burt further points out that the Northeast was "betraying national honor . . . for selfish profit." All sources indicate in fact that New England experienced a great shipping and commercial boom because of continuing European hostilities; the United States government went to war to "champion maritime interests . . . in spite of their opposition."⁴¹ Burt's observations, apparently sound, are directly supported by the conclusion of this paper that South Carolina, which played a significant role in the congressional campaign for war, had as its primary concern an alleviation of commercial distress.

The thesis of Julius W. Pratt, on the other hand, seems considerably weakened by the findings here reported. The coupling together of the South and Southwest in interpreting the war sentiment is certainly justifiable, but this alliance was not altogether natural, and in many respects the relationships that have been singled out are not the significant ones. Indian troubles may have had some bearing on western sentiment, but these did not pose a serious problem in the South at this date; expansion into Florida was likewise an unimportant urge.⁴² The developing political philosophy of Kentucky

⁴¹ A. L. Burt, *The United States, Great Britain, and British North America* (New Haven, 1940), p. 306. Burt explains that Great Britain, in command of the sea, pressed harder on American neutrality than France, which had no foothold on the American continent and therefore was less vulnerable.

⁴² Warren H. Goodman, taking issue with Pratt's thesis, grants that Pratt had sufficient evidence to justify listing the Indians as a definite problem, but not as an "overmastering" concern. In line with Goodman's statement on the Indian question, if sample data from middle Tennessee in this writer's files are of value, there seems to have been no particular concern with Indians or any other British-inspired difficulties in the Williamson County frontier settlement in the years before 1812; see Williamson County MS Records, 1800-1812, Court House, Franklin, Tennessee. It is also interesting to note from a slightly different angle that Ohio, which was closer to the British-Indian sphere of influence than Kentucky and Tennessee, cast one vote for war in the House yet one against war in the Senate, the negative vote being given by Senator Thomas Worthington, a future governor of the state. See *DAB*, XX. Pratt's contention that the southern desire for war was a part of its acquisitive impulse toward Florida is weak. No evidence can be found in congressional debates that Florida was a motive for war. Actually, part of Florida was taken without a thought of conflict with Britain, and in June, 1812, a move by the House of Representatives to permit the occupation of East and West Florida was blocked by the Senate (*Annals*, pp. 1684-92). The Florida thesis can certainly not be applied in any sizable measure to South Carolina; Thomas Sumter had opposed even the purchase of Florida in 1806 because too large a portion of seacoast would be left undefended. (Everett S.

and Tennessee could rarely be equated with that of conservative cotton-producing South Carolina, nor was the latter by 1812 in a position to share the frontier sentiments of the West. Indeed, the support of these states for similar measures in Congress lasted only a few years.

The significant basis of alliance between the South and the Southwest in 1812 was their common cry against foreign depredations on American shipping. As well-explained by G. R. Taylor, when depression replaced the early western prosperity of 1808 and 1809, discontent was rampant and settlers looked madly about them for the causes of their troubles. Economic analysts believe today that these were primarily difficulties within the frontier area itself—matters of transportation, communication, imperfect marketing, and insufficient financial organization. However, the westerners of 1808–1812 grasped for a time at the first likely cause; they began to be painfully aware of foreign restrictions on American commerce, and to these they directed more and more blame for their economic ills. Although western markets were actually far less directly connected to European trade than those of South Carolina, increased demands for western hemp, tobacco, cotton, and flour were hopefully anticipated as results of a war with Great Britain. In 1812, “the right of exporting the productions of our own soil and industry to foreign markets” seemed as real to the hemp and tobacco growers of Kentucky as to the large-scale cotton producers of South Carolina.⁴³

The internal scene in South Carolina was ripe for a burst of political activity on behalf of commerce. Contrary to the impression left by authors who have elected to discuss in isolation the rise of the Republican majority in South Carolina, the state’s over-all outlook was largely a conservative one based on an established political and economic philosophy. The South Carolina Republican party itself could only in a superficial sense be described as Jeffersonian; more specifically it was a state-centered group which kept well in line with the prevailing statewide views, these marked by ambition for

Brown, ed., *William Plumer's Memorandum of Proceedings in the United States Senate, 1803–1807* [New York, 1923], p. 421.) In November, 1812, William Lowndes expressed the opinion that no law would be recommended for the occupation of Florida because Spain was likely to cede it anyway. (Lowndes to [Thomas Pinckney], Nov. 27, 1812, William Lowndes Papers, Library of Congress.) There was certain agitation in Georgia over the question of Florida because of the common boundary, but it seems unwise to visualize the entire South as an expansive-minded area. The contention that a sectional bargain was made between North and South regarding the acquisition of Canada and Florida has been left completely without basis by W. H. Goodman, who has pointed out that the conquest of Canada was openly advocated in the South as early as 1807, no particular opposition to this move being voiced thereafter. Canada was often regarded in many parts of the country as possible remuneration for British damages to American commerce. See Goodman, “Origins of the War of 1812,” pp. 177–82.

⁴³ The quotation is from a speech by Felix Grundy of Tennessee in which he singled out this right as the “true question in controversy.” *Annals*, p. 424.

gain yet an innate distrust of substantial change. Such conservatism, prompted by the immediate need to preserve the prosperous economic system of the state, was expressed by South Carolina in a nationalistic impulse for war.

In a sense the war marked the end of one era of Jeffersonianism and the beginning of a change in the nature of the Republican party. South Carolina, one of the foremost war-minded leaders, was a state whose Republicanism had never been more than an independent, local movement. The new generation in the Republican party, with an aim to protect and promote the direct commerce of the country that seemed more Federalist than Jeffersonian, was strongly spearheaded by men from the South and the Southwest who worked together successfully in a congressional drive for war. The effective leadership of Henry Clay in the Speaker's chair supplemented by other representatives of the frontier regions must never be minimized, but that provides matter for another paper. Working with Clay, the new delegation from South Carolina was the most aggressive force in Congress.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the desire of South Carolina to preserve and extend the status quo produced a determination not to be undone by the caprices of warring European powers. Going to Congress with the conviction that the older Republican measures would not solve the problems of 1812, South Carolina's young Congressmen Calhoun, Cheves, and Lowndes spoke for the protection of America's foreign commerce and not at all incidentally for the well-being of South Carolina's trade in cotton.

Stanford, California

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

USE AND ABUSE OF HISTORY. By *Pieter Geyl*, Professor of Modern History, University of Utrecht. [The Terry Lectures.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1955. Pp. vi, 97. \$2.50.)

MAN ON HIS PAST: THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP. By *Herbert Butterfield*, Master of Peterhouse and Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. xvii, 238. \$4.50.)

Books on the history and the uses of history are not new. Their multiplication today may reflect a deepening public awareness of the value of remembered experience and the historian's deepening consciousness of the richness of historical scholarship.

From the vantage of his own rich scholarship Pieter Geyl, in these, the Terry Lectures at Yale in 1954, rapidly surveys the uses and abuses to which men have put history in the past—to free themselves from the despotism of custom, to shed light on man's fate, to preserve things as they were, to determine their rights, to defend their political groupings, and to find a prefiguration of the present. He notes too that, as in the French Revolution, men have revolted against history only to find history revenging itself upon them. Repelled by "systems" of history like Hegel's and Toynbee's, Geyl himself finds all study of the humanities renewed and enriched by knowledge of the phases of human development. He finds the duty of the historian to be the separation of history from myth, through the "cultivation of the historical attitude of mind." And he further believes that history will elucidate the present by showing its problems in perspective.

Herbert Butterfield's study of the history of historical scholarship reveals once more his own extraordinary scholarship and imaginative mind. As he lectures, for the book is mainly composed of his 1954 Wiles Lectures at Belfast, Butterfield examines "the rise, the scope, the methods and the objectives of the history of historiography . . . from the middle of the eighteenth century to the time of Lord Acton." With unobtrusive learning he concretely illustrates the "modern transformation of historical scholarship," as he treats the too little known Göttingen school of historians before Ranke, as he delves once more and with new sympathetic insights into the work of Ranke and Acton. Butterfield, the historian who deepened scientific thinking by studying the origins of modern science, here deepens the perceptions of his fellow historians as he adds to the "internal knowledge" of their field.

The eighteenth-century Göttingen professors, Gatterer, Schlözer, and a few others, opened a new era in historical scholarship as they called attention to the need for a history of it and functioned as "general historians" to bring the "whole range of the study under consideration." Following them, other historians widened and deepened the study of history through the establishment of critical standards and the scientific use of historical data—though they could never write without assumptions arising out of the "unexpected conditioning circumstances" which in any time mold the historical mind. Precisely because of these assumptions, the historian must study the minds and works of his predecessors in a particular study if he is to avoid the false paths they have taken. Often citing Acton's own notes, Butterfield refers repeatedly to him as one who enlarged historical understanding through knowledge of historiography, through comprehension of the minds of other earlier and contemporary historians. As the personal characteristics of Acton's own historical thinking are also laid bare, the strengths and weaknesses of much nineteenth-century scholarship become apparent. Ranke, Butterfield characterizes as the scholar who not only opened the "era of scientific research" but also became the "supreme apostle of 'general history.'" The "general history" conceived in the nineteenth century became chiefly the history of only the modern European states—the internal political developments and the inter-relationships of the European nations. But, Butterfield argues, this should not blind us to Ranke's ideal of general history.

As he writes, Butterfield touches upon the use of archival materials, the division of history into periods, and the limitations of technical history in the realm of the providential. Whatever he touches, he illuminates. He ends this volume by two previously published case studies of historical scholarship upon the origins of the Seven Years' War and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. These are models in themselves of historical scholarship based not only on original research but on full knowledge of the history of earlier studies.

History can be used for many purposes. Both these volumes show how it can be used to deepen the historical understanding of historians.

Washington, D. C.

BOYD C. SHAFER

UNITY AND VARIETY IN MUSLIM CIVILIZATION. Edited by *Gustave E. von Grunebaum*. [Comparative Studies of Cultures and Civilizations.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 385. \$6.00.)

UNLIKE Islamic scholars in America, who are mostly philologists or historians, and in the East, who are mostly linguists or theologians, the contributors to this volume are largely anthropologists. The contributions were originally papers read at a conference held in Belgium in 1953 to discuss the relationship between Islamic civilization as a whole and the local cultures of the areas where Islam predominates. The leading article by Professor von Grunebaum of the University of Chicago, originally the keynote paper, introduces the subject. Each contribution

is followed by a discussion which reveals that among the participants there was—as in the case of the subject—more diversity than unity.

Schacht of Oxford (now Leiden) maintains that Islamic law had no Islamic—not even Koranic—basis; its origins go back to pre-Islamic Arabian, Roman, Byzantine, Persian, and other practices assimilated but never perfectly to a “revealed” system of moral requirements. The basis of Moslem literature, according to Gabrieli of Rome, is also not Moslem. Sufism, the main theme of Persian poetry, is perhaps Christian and Gnostic in origin, rather than Iranian. Moslem art, treated by Ettinghausen of Washington, shows everywhere the old traditions vying with the sense of a new Islamic standard. Spuler of Hamburg notes that as a consequence to the confusion between “church” and “state” in Islam, every political secession inevitably took the form of a religious secession (sect), from which followed in practice a breach in the unity of the state. Minorsky of Cambridge points out that Shi‘ism, cluttered up with miracles and living incarnations of the deity and breathing an aroma of revolt and martyrdom, was precisely the kind suited to a people long subjected to foreign rule as in Persia. Other contributors include Abel of Brussels, who deals with Spain; Le Tourneau of Algiers, who treats North Africa; Anderson of London, whose subject is tropical Africa; Drewes of Leiden, who discusses the situation in Indonesia; Lewes of London, who analyzes the formation of the Turkish nation; and Caskel, who sketches the Western impact.

To a historian the presentation in general sounds abstract and looks inadequate in documentation. An illustration of theorizing is the assertion that, had the Jews disappeared like other ancient Near Eastern peoples, the Palestinian Arabs today would have identified themselves with them (p. 315). One glaring misstatement of a historical fact is making the empire of Harun al-Rashid the first one in Islam (p. 3). There seems to be an inconsistency in dating the introduction of European instruction into Turkish schools (pp. 319, 335). The fact, however, remains that the book stands out as a fresh, illuminating, and highly significant, one might say unique, contribution to our knowledge of one of the five or six major civilizations of our world.

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PHILIP K. HITT

TOPSOIL AND CIVILIZATION. By *Tom Dale* and *Vernon Gill Carter*. (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press. 1955. Pp. xvi, 270. \$3.95.)

THE authors of *Topsoil and Civilization* are devoted students of conservation: one an agronomist and a teacher of vocational agriculture and the other a conservationist. With them the proper use of the soil is an article of faith, almost a religion, for which they seek historical justification. The thesis, a simple one, is that the “use or misuse of the land has influenced the course of world history more than any other single factor” and that “many great civilizations were built on good soil and fell after soil fertility had been depleted.”

Their thesis proclaimed, the authors attempt to place it in a historical framework; and here, my feelings are, they yield more to their sentiments than to historical evidence. First, they concede that "Civilized men lead a complicated existence, and their civilizations are complex affairs" and that "the decline of all past civilizations, or any given civilization cannot be attributed to one specific cause." Yet in the same paragraph they insist, "one factor limits the status of any civilized society—the amount of surplus raw materials produced by the primary producers." With an earnestness that is more apparent than the historical evidence in support of it, the authors hold that ancient civilizations in the Nile Valley, Mesopotamia, the Mediterranean, Crete, Greece, North Africa, Italy, and Sicily were dependent on the amount of surplus products of the cultivators.

A brighter note is sounded with respect to the nations of the West. The western Europeans are presumed to possess the potential resources and technological equipment needed to build a permanent civilization. But here, too, permanency hinges upon the conservation practices of present and future generations. The responsibilities of the United States are said to be even greater, because of the added burdens we have assumed since World War II and because we, as a nation, have much more to do in the way of conservation before we can expect the so-called backward nations to follow our example.

The theme, a familiar one, has been preached by soil specialists for years. In its proper place it needs preaching and re preaching; and frankly, I feel the authors have done a good job along these lines. But for them to insist that the use and misuse of the land furnishes the key to the rise and decline of civilizations through the centuries, and then to try vainly to buttress this theme with vague historical references, pleading, and exhortation, is hardly good history. Unless I am seriously mistaken, few historians will subscribe to the unqualified thesis that land use and misuse furnishes the key to the rise and decline of civilizations.

The physical format of the book is attractive; the volume is well written and edited; but the authors greatly overstate their argument.

University of California, Los Angeles

THEODORE SALOUTOS

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY. In four volumes and portfolio. Volume I, THE VOYAGE OF THE *ENDEAVOUR*, 1768–1771. Edited from the original manuscripts by J. C. Beaglehole, with the assistance of J. A. Williamson, J. W. Davidson, and R. A. Skelton. Portfolio, CHARTS AND VIEWS. Edited by R. A. Skelton. [Hakluyt Society, Extra Series, No. XXXIV.] (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press for Hakluyt Society. 1955. Pp. cclxxxiv, 684; 58 plates. \$15.00; \$9.50.)

In the separate portfolio of fifty-eight superb charts and views covering all three voyages, No. LVIII is a large map showing the "Tracks of the Ships" of Cook's three voyages. No clearer illustration is needed to stamp Captain James

Cook as one of the very greatest of a nation of navigators and maritime explorers. He circumnavigated the globe three times and drew the modern map of the Pacific, shattering the theory of a great southern continent. He was the first to circumnavigate New Zealand, to discover Australia's east coast, to cross the Antarctic Circle, and to chart part of America's northwest coast. He banished the dreaded scourge of scurvy from his ships. Above all he was a leader of men. Why scholars have failed to give us an accurate edition of Cook's own record of his voyages before is a mystery; but this sin of omission has been nobly atoned for by Dr. J. C. Beaglehole of Victoria University College, New Zealand, and most generously financed by the New Zealand government (but not the Australian) and by some private patrons. This first of four volumes is a monument of dedicated scholarship, and the Cambridge University Press has executed a masterpiece of printing for the Hakluyt Society.

Dr. Beaglehole's introduction is close to three hundred pages. The journal of the voyage of the *Endeavour*, carefully footnoted by the editor, profusely illustrated with maps, pictures, and drawings, and ending with some significant appendixes, brings the total to almost one thousand pages. Dr. Beaglehole has obviously steeped himself in Cook materials for years. He has distilled all the latest scholarship into a two-hundred-page story of earlier Pacific voyages by the Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, French, and English. He has given us a short but erudite sketch of Polynesian history, and fifty pages of textual analyses and criticism—the problems he faced were difficult and taxing. His footnotes, besides giving a running textual criticism, collate the whole with extant copies and related logs. They are also filled with ethnological, botanical, and nautical information. Dr. Beaglehole knows every man on board the ship and has studied the journal of each (if he kept one), including those of the famous Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. D. C. Solander, the ablest botanist in England.

The *Endeavour* sailed around the Horn, made the necessary scientific observations at Tahiti before sailing to New Zealand, and then sailed west into the unknown, discovering the east coast of Australia. Cook wrote full and observant descriptions of the natives of these three places, as well as of the flora and fauna. But the dramatic incidents of the voyage, such as the disastrous striking of the Australian Barrier Reef, are related quietly and without drama. Without a formal education, Cook possessed a vigorous and inquiring mind and an observant eye. Not being a practiced writer, and not intending what he wrote for the eyes of anyone but his superiors, he uses plain, workmanlike prose. The style is rough, and eccentricities of spelling abound. The sections of the journal dealing with the open sea are pedestrian because they were not meant for the lay reader, though they are of great value to the meteorologist and the hydrographer.

Equally impressive in the journal is the incidental self-revelation. Modest, just, and firm (no wonder his crews wished to sign on with him again), Cook was also indefatigable and dedicated, with an unusual capacity for mental growth. The great cabin of the *Endeavour* must have been a running seminar in every

learned subject. Cook owed a great deal to Banks and Solander, but they learned from him too. Cook and Banks even took passages from each other's journals. "We may say," writes Dr. Beaglehole, "that he departed from England a good sailor, a first-rate marine surveyor, an able mathematician; and returned a great commander, a great discoverer, and a man with a greatly heightened sense of the scope of human thought" (pp. cxii-iii).

Despite his intimate contact with the intelligentsia on board, Cook remained a reserved man. Thus, while Banks described Christmas, 1768, as a day when "all good Christians that is to say all hands get abominably drunk so that at night there was scarce a sober man in the ship," Cook in a single sentence reservedly remarks: "yesterday being Christmas day the People were none of the Soberest" (p. 37). And why not? Dr. Beaglehole has industriously uncovered a manuscript, printed in the appendix, which reveals that there were 604 gallons of rum on board (p. 551)!

Rutgers University

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, DIPLOMATIC PAPERS: THE CONFERENCES AT MALTA AND YALTA. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1955. Pp. lxxviii, 1032. \$5.50.)

WHILE adding considerable detail to available information, this official compilation will hardly damp the fires kindled by the Crimea conference. The documents were first released to the *New York Times* in mid-March, 1955, over British objections; their publication in that newspaper caused a domestic flurry. The formal volume, issued months later, is the first of a projected series on the wartime conferences planned under legislation pushed through Congress by conservative Republicans in 1953. Its three major divisions cover the pre-conference period, a preliminary meeting at Malta, and the Yalta sessions themselves. It constitutes, according to the introduction, "as definitive and comprehensive a coverage . . . as could be made at the present time. . . ." and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles later insisted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (April 19, 1955) that the chief omissions were "a very few casual or informal remarks."

The pre-conference material shows Franklin D. Roosevelt's early anxiety for a meeting, Josef Stalin's coy attitude and Winston Churchill's prescience of the political dangers of delay in the face of a later Rooseveltian dilatoriness. The United Nations, Poland, and Germany loom large and the documents show that Russia had studied and rejected the proposed American compromise on the veto in December, about the same time that Stalin began suggesting the Oder-Western Neisse boundary for postwar Poland. Excerpts from a briefing book present recommended attitudes on a number of problems relating to "possible clashes between the Soviet and British Governments." Roosevelt's advisers are convinced that Russia will "exert predominant political influence" in Poland and the Balkans, and conclude that "this Government probably would not want to oppose

itself to such a political configuration," although unwilling to see American influence eliminated entirely. Roosevelt arrived only at the end of the Malta meetings, which were perforce mainly devoted to lower-level political discussion and to military conversations. The meticulous detail of the latter tend by contrast to point up the President's somewhat casual approach to the political side of affairs.

At Yalta itself the record shows Roosevelt the least aggressive and forthright of the three leaders, his rapport with Churchill not the best, despite ample evidence of the increasing need for co-operation in the face of rising Russian demands. His concern for the United Nations was to the fore and his attitude toward Poland was colored deeply by a tender solicitude for Polish-American Catholic votes at home—indeed, Churchill carried the brunt of opposition to Russian demands for a compliant Polish government and extended Polish frontiers. The documents on the controverted Far Eastern agreement are disappointing in quantity and in the amount of light which they shed. Nothing in them challenges the oft-repeated dictum that Stalin could have taken by force what he got by agreement. They do show, however, that he took the initiative, in private discussion, in demanding written acceptance of political conditions as the price of his entry into the Far Eastern war; they show the President mainly concerned with how these conditions should be met, rather than with their substantive merit.

The collection as a whole will add some light and a good deal of heat to the Yalta story. It has already been challenged as an incomplete and distorted picture of events. Unless and until more material becomes available, however, the scholar will have to continue tentative judgments in some areas where current polemicists are less reserved—the present compilation, like most collections of contemporary documents, leaves some of the definite answers still in the mists.

Rutgers University

L. ETHAN ELLIS

Ancient and Medieval History

KORINTHIAKA: RECHERCHES SUR L'HISTOIRE ET LA CIVILISATION DE CORINTHE DES ORIGINES AUX GUERRES MÉDIQUES.
By *Edouard Will*. (Paris: E. de Boccard. 1955. Pp. 719.)

THERE are great gaps in our knowledge of the early history of Corinth. The literary sources consist of passing references in Herodotus and Thucydides plus widely scattered scraps of information in later authors of varying reliability. Corinth itself is still largely unexcavated, and the archaeological evidence so far unearthed is confined almost entirely to pottery, which, unlike coins and inscriptions, does not readily yield accurate and detailed historical information. Therefore, it is scarcely surprising that previous historians of Corinth have made little use of the archaeological evidence, and archaeologists are still occupied with interpreting and adding to their discoveries.

This book is the first attempt to combine both types of evidence in an effort to reconstruct Corinthian history down to the end of the sixth century B.C. In assembling his facts, the author is nothing if not thorough. He seems to have brought together everything that could possibly bear on his subject, no matter how obscure the source. All this material he has arranged with scrupulous care and meticulous documentation, and he has presented it in clear and orderly fashion, with convenient subheadings and accurate indexes. As a result, he has produced a valuable and reliable work of reference, and has saved future researchers many hours of labor.

But he has done much more than assemble facts; he also has important original contributions to make. Two examples must suffice. The first is a convincing correction of the popular but erroneous picture of Corinth as a great commercial center in the seventh century, and of its oligarchic ruling class, the Bacchiads, as shipowners, merchants, colonizers, and industrialists, in the manner of Hanseatic burghers. Corinth had at the time "an economy without rigid professional specialization, without formal organization, and without money; [it had] a society living on a primitive agricultural basis, but beginning to discover the outside world" (p. 329). Secondly, the author seems to have solved the vexed problem of the chronology of the Cypselid tyranny. The traditional dates of 657-584/3 B.C. have remained generally accepted hitherto, despite Beloch's vigorous protest that they are a half century too early. Will argues carefully and cogently that both the archaeological evidence and Herodotus support Beloch's viewpoint, and concludes that the tyranny should be dated *ca.* 620-547 B.C.

Not that all the author's conclusions are beyond question. For example, at Athens and Samos the tyrants were great builders, but no great public works were undertaken immediately after their expulsion. It therefore seems more probable *a priori* that at Corinth the Temple of Apollo (*ca.* 545 B.C.; cf. *Hesperia*, 1939, p. 199) is Cypselid rather than a product of the post-tyranny years. But disagreement on minor points should not obscure the fact that this book is likely to be definitive in its field for many years. Above all, the author has refrained from fanciful hypotheses in the many areas where evidence is almost totally lacking. It is therefore to his credit that in his book the Dorian invasions still remain vague, the Bacchiads hazy, and local Corinthian institutions virtually unknown.

University of Vermont

JOHN H. KENT

LATE CLASSICAL AND MEDIAEVAL STUDIES IN HONOR OF ALBERT MATHIAS FRIEND, JR. Edited by *Kurt Weitzmann* with the Assistance of *Sirarpie der Nersessian*, *George H. Forsyth, Jr.*, *Ernst H. Kantorowicz*, and *Theodor E. Mommsen*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1955. Pp. xiv, 405. \$25.00.)

TRADITION seems to require the reviewer of a *Festschrift* to deplore the practice of publishing a volume of miscellaneous essays, perhaps by calling attention

to the *locus classicus* on the subject (Dorothy Rounds and Sterling Dow, "Festschriften," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, VIII [1954], 283-99), but to welcome the volume under review; to indicate that too little space has been allotted for the review; and, in any event, to plead the reviewer's inadequacy in the face of essays on a wide variety of subjects.

Rather than develop a familiar theme, let us say at once that this handsomely printed, magnificently illustrated volume, presented to Dr. Friend on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, is a richly deserved tribute to a distinguished scholar, whose death his friends and colleagues now mourn. As Marquand professor of art and archaeology at Princeton and as one-time director of studies at Dumbarton Oaks, he did much to make scholars and the general public aware of the importance of Byzantine studies and especially Byzantine art. His interests, however, extended beyond the Byzantine world to embrace the West as well as the East. Indeed he would have been the ideal reviewer of this homage volume, since his range of knowledge was wide enough to do justice to the various essays. For the volume is a conspectus of his own scholarly interests and activities, which spanned the medieval world from western Europe to Persia.

Most of the thirty-two essays, which are presented in chronological sequence, treat specific iconographical, literary, liturgical, theological, or historical problems. Several discuss recently discovered works of art, and others are preliminary studies on larger subjects projected by their authors. Appropriately enough, about one third of the essays pertain to the field of Byzantine studies.

Despite the range and diversity of subjects, the volume is better integrated than most *Festschriften*, mainly because many of the essays reflect Dr. Friend's own method of approach, which brought to bear on an expert analysis of iconography the insights gained through a study of the religious and literary texts. In this way some of the fundamental concepts prevailing in the Middle Ages are illuminated.

The names of such distinguished contributors as Alföldi, Grabar, Kantorowicz, and Panofsky—to select a few at random—will indicate the high quality of the volume. Since even a bare table of contents would exceed the allotted space, we may single out for special mention a few essays which may be of particular interest to historians.

By a study of two coins issued by Diocletian and Maximian to celebrate their abdication in 305, Bellinger contributes to our understanding of the techniques of imperial propaganda. Alföldi, whose long essay in German is the only one in a language other than English, uses literary and archaeological sources to explain the significance of the Oriental costume worn by the despot in drama from Aeschylus to the time of the Renaissance. Dvornik's essay, "The Emperor Julian's 'Reactionary' Ideas on Kingship," draws an interesting contrast between Hellenistic political principles which had triumphed in the Roman Empire and republican Roman ideas which were favored by Julian.

Several essays are devoted to Byzantine history. Alexander, "An Ascetic Sect

of Iconoclasts in Seventh Century Armenia," and Anastos, "The Argument for Iconoclasm Presented by the Iconoclastic Council of 754," will interest students of that major episode in Byzantine history. Charanis makes a searching investigation of the references to Hellas in the Greek sources of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, and demonstrates that the term Hellas refers roughly to regions south of Thermopylae. Jenkins attempts to fix the date and the circumstances of the Slav revolt in the Peloponnese in the tenth century, and Downey examines the life and writings of Constantine the Rhodian.

A number of essays devoted to specific works of art or to phases of art history are brilliant illuminations of history. Outstanding among these are Weitzmann's discussion of the famous Cotton Genesis manuscript and its relationship to the mosaics of San Marco in Venice; Kantorowicz' convincing identification of "The Carolingian King in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura" as Charles the Bald; Buchthal's fascinating reconstruction of an entire school of miniature painting in Norman Sicily; and Demus' analysis of the ideas underlying the revival of an early Christian style in the Venetian proto-Renaissance of the thirteenth century.

The editors, the contributors, and the Princeton Press may well be proud of this volume. It is a consolation to know that the *honorandus* was able to receive this final proof of the esteem and the affection of his many friends.

University of Washington

SOLOMON KATZ

AN INTRODUCTION TO ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND. By *Peter Hunter Blair*, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1956. Pp. xvi, 382. \$5.50.)

The pre-Conquest history of England was long the stepchild of English historians, and it is only in the last two or three decades that the period has received the attention it deserves. Mr. Blair modestly calls his book an introduction; in fact he has composed a highly concentrated and well-balanced account of the period from the Roman evacuation of Britain to the eve of the Conquest and yet has succeeded in making it very readable. Two chapters are devoted to political and military history. These are followed by four others dealing with the church, government, economy, and literature. There is no separate chapter on art, but the author all through the book has made excellent use of the archaeological material and of early manuscripts. Nine maps in the text and sixteen well-chosen plates not only add to the attractiveness of the book but are a great aid to the reader.

As the book is sure to go into a second edition, two or three suggestions may be offered. Mr. Blair wisely avoids controversy, which would be out of place in a book of this kind. Thus, for example, he follows Stenton's dating consistently but warns the reader that he is doing so, and he accepts *ca.* 700 as the date of *Beowulf* but adds that a later date is possible. Yet he accepts without comment the historical section of Gildas as contemporary evidence. Might it not be well in a second edition to add a note to the effect that many scholars, and, as it

seems to your reviewer, with good reason, believe this narrative not to have been composed before the end of the seventh century? On page 316 the *Book of Kells* seems out of place among the other calligraphic Gospel-books, since it was indubitably copied in a *scriptorium* in Ireland. We think of Theodore of Canterbury mainly as an administrator of genius, but the testimony of Bede to Theodore's erudition has recently been confirmed by a remarkable discovery of Bernhard Bischoff's. In an article which appeared too late for Mr. Blair to use (*Sacris Erudiri*, VI, 2, 1954, pp. 189 ff.), Bischoff has shown that a manuscript now in Milan contains Bible glosses going back to the teaching of Theodore and Hadrian, and he promises to publish them at an early date.

Cornell University

M. L. W. LAISTNER

L'ESCLAVAGE DANS L'EUROPE MÉDIÉVALE. Volume I, PÉNINSULE IBÉRIQUE—FRANCE. By *Charles Verlinden*, Professeur à l'Université de Gand. [Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte, 119^e Aflevering] (Bruges: De Tempel, 1955. Pp. 930.)

THIS is the first of three volumes designed not only to present the history of slavery in medieval Europe but to fill a large gap in our knowledge of the medieval world. We are well supplied, the author asserts in an admirable preface, with studies on the role of serfdom in medieval society, whether from the economic or from the institutional side. For slavery in this period, however, we lack proper scholarship. He has taken the whole of Europe as his geographical framework, has included the whole period from the late Roman Empire to 1500, and has stressed both economic and legal factors throughout. The analyses of slavery in each of the subdivisions of the Iberian peninsula and in France, the subject matter of this volume, are thorough but are always linked with a synthetical view of the institution in its whole European setting. The slave trade, for which the author produces much new and impressive material, obviously cannot be examined in any closed compartment. The author hopes very modestly that the results of his work will modify somewhat many current views concerning some very fundamental aspects of medieval history. The interaction of Moslem, Jewish, and Christian forces, as here revealed in both the theory and the practice of slavery, throws new light on old facts and brings in a number of new facts to help in the solution of old problems, both political and economic. The second volume will concern itself with the rest of Mediterranean Europe; the third will deal with the Germanic, Celtic, and Slavic areas. Justification for so much emphasis upon the Mediterranean region comes from the fact that European slavery had there its longest existence, retained there longer its most characteristic features as a mass movement, and has there yielded its most ample documentation.

The author writes from a wide knowledge of medieval Europe, notably on the economic side. He is exceedingly well-equipped bibliographically and is realisti-

cally critical of all his materials, including the work of such scholars as Fournier and Kovalevsky. Never far from the printed sources, he has himself used archival collections extensively for the section on France, especially at Marseille and Montpellier. Some of his footnotes quote far too copiously from contemporary records that are in print and reasonably accessible to any serious student, e.g., the *Leges Visigothorum*. The reader is grateful for numerous well-placed summary paragraphs in view of the sheer weight of the evidence presented. Yet the author can be brief and forceful as in his statement that the slave trade in the Carolingian Empire was a trade of transit, disapproved by the church and privileged by the emperor. The statistical tables, not numerous, are interesting but not entirely convincing. The reader will, however, find shrewd and penetrating observations on almost every page. The comparative method, based on such broad learning and buttressed with so many examples, has paid excellent dividends. No reader will ever again think of the Iberian peninsula as a unit. Catalonia and southern France seem even more distinctive elements in western Europe in view of the forces revealed by a study of slavery and the slave trade in this region. Barcelona, Perpignan, Narbonne, Marseille, among other cities, show here new facets of their development. Pirenne's well-known theories receive both support and correction. The thorny problem of the relation of slavery to serfdom in France is clarified, but only in part.

The volume is overlong, but clearly written and highly informative. The author is obviously well on his way to filling the gap described in his preface.

Smith College

SIDNEY R. PACKARD

STÄMME, NATION UND NATIONALSTAAT IM DEUTSCHEN MITTELALTER. By *Karl Gottfried Hugelmann*. [Nationalstaat und Nationalitätenrecht im deutschen Mittelalter, Band I.] (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1955. Pp. xviii, 540.)

PROFESSOR Hugelmann dedicates this book to three sons lost in the recent war. He ends his preface with the remark: "Mit diesem Gedanken verneige ich mich in Ehrfurcht vor den gefallen deutschen Soldaten." In a footnote to his preface he defends himself against a charge of Guido Kisch that a certain article of his, written in 1928, was "ein Vorläufer der nationalsozialistischen Rassenlehre."

It is quite understandable that a father who has lost three sons, and a German scholar who has lived through the last few decades of German history, should seek in the more remote German past for some meaning of nation, national state, and national consciousness, to justify the unbearable personal loss, and to give dignity to the inhuman aberrations of Nazi Germany. To this reviewer, however, it is a melancholy experience to go through a book, the result of enormous labor on the part of a scholar and his pupils (many of whose lives this war also took), in so many seminars over so many years, a book that can hardly do much more in the end than give the sanction of the centuries, centuries that we have been taught

were especially devoted to the Christian task of making men brothers, to what has become one of the most dangerous provincialisms of our day. Dr. Hugelmann proposes to continue this study of medieval German nationalism with a second volume on the status of national minorities in the Middle Ages, and a third on the relation of the German national state to the medieval international state and community.

Dr. Hugelmann can find the nation, the national state, and national consciousness or feeling in the Middle Ages because of the definitions he gives to these terms. For him a nation is a people whose leading class, at least, is aware of a historical fate that is fulfilling itself in them. He calls such peoples "geschichtstiefe Völker." A people so aware already possesses national consciousness, looks upon itself as "eine höhere Einheit," and seeks to incorporate this unity in a state. National consciousness thus becomes tinged with national feeling. A national state must have two traits: (1) it must incorporate most of the territory inhabited by the people, and (2) it must be aware that it belongs to the people in a special way ("der Staateben diesem Volke besonders zugehörig ist, von seinem Geiste getragen und bestimmt wird, ihm vorwiegend dient"). Dr. Hugelmann thinks medieval Germany was a nation with national consciousness and with a national state in all these senses. The climax of this national consciousness was reached between 1150 and 1250 when "ein Gefühl des Stolzes auf die von Gott gegebene Art und zugleich des Dienstes an der demütigen Erfüllung höchster kirchlich-europäischer Aufgaben scheint die Deutschen jener Zeit zu beseelen" (p. 303). In all this the author is a close student of *Volkslehre*. Back of empires and states are "zeitewigen geschichtstiefen Völker, die Nationen," which in the last analysis are "Träger göttlicher Gedanken." This makes it possible for their states, the national states, "ohne sich als Nationalstaat aufzugehen, in ein überstaatliches Gefüge führend oder dienend, auch führend und dienend, zugleich einzugehen" (p. 511).

Professor Hugelmann takes it for granted that others have read his works, emphasizes them repeatedly, and refers to other scholars who have mentioned them in print. The book is something of a *Handbuch* in form, with elaborate and useful bibliographies preceding the sections and notes following them. Not much consideration is given the reader with respect to style. The text is often used as a running commentary on the author's reading, and pages are frequently so packed with quotations from sources that only the very resolute and brave will manage to survive them. There will be much in Hugelmann's interpretation that other scholars will reject, for a Holy Roman Empire decomposing into territorial states has not ordinarily been described in terms of a national state possessed of national consciousness, however these are defined. This reviewer doesn't think that Helmold could be confused as to what a Saxon was. There will be some who, with respect to German expansion eastward, will prefer to speak of *an-* rather than *über-greifendene* Germans. The author supplies two appendixes, one on "Ergebnisse für die Volkslehre und Volkstums-Sociologie" and another on

"Rechts- und verfassungsgeschichtliche Probleme ausserhalb des Hauptthemas."
This is scholarship of an almost desperate patriotic earnestness.

University of Nebraska

EDGAR N. JOHNSON

BERNHARD VON CLAIRVAUX, MÖNCH UND MYSTIKER: INTERNATIONALER BERNHARDKONGRESS, MAINZ 1953. Edited by *Joseph Lortz*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz, Band VI.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1955. Pp. lvi, 245. DM 20.80.)

THIS is another worthy offering of Catholic scholarship, suitably international in keeping with the saint's career here commemorated. The principles of historical criticism and Christian interpretation as set forth in the editor's introductory paper before the Congress are evident in most of the essays. Bernard is linked with his own age and with the twentieth century by way of inquiries into his character and personality, the collision of Catholicity and heresy in theory and practice, and the operating canons of faith and life in a Christian Europe. These examinations are invited in a mood positively oriented to the basic problems and approved methods of modern critical research as these involve terminology, the validating of the sources in relation to tradition, the distinctive contribution of monastic theology, and the relation of Western culture with the Church. Professor Lortz sketches the main directions of the Congress' study and supports his quizzical analyses of deep-moving Bernardine currents with copious references and source-texts.

The papers, individually and collectively, lend themselves less to a general reconstruction of Bernard's role as monk and mystic than to a series of heavily documented, specialized summations of modern Catholic research trends in representative areas. Landgraf of Bamberg relates Bernard to twelfth-century theology. Déchanet studies Christology. Congar of Le Saulchoir reviews ecclesiology. Kleineidam of Erfurt and von Ivánka of Graz analyze European-Byzantine culture, philosophy, and theology. Dom Leclercq traces the spread of Bernard's writings in German. Dr. Matthäus Bernards of Bonn contributes a solid study in the present status of Bernard research as well as a paper on the emergence of the *Flores* of the saint. Talbot of London provides a suggestive paper on the rise of the Sermons on the Canticles. Dr. Spahr writes on the beginnings of Cîteaux. Eydoux of Paris has a brief excursus on Cistercian architecture.

In a mood reminiscent of Lortz's introduction, Bernards examines the saint's life work, teaching influence, practicality, theological encounters, writings, and theological system—all against the backdrop of contemporary research in source-texts. Page 17 begins a specific inquiry into researches on the spirituality of St. Bernard. Talbot's study considers dating of the Canticles series; queries whether these were actually delivered or not; focuses main themes, provenance, transmission, and range of the manuscripts; and assesses the role of Bernard's disciples in correcting, copying, and releasing the sermons. These and other studies accent

not only the consensus of scholarship already attained but also the problems still unsolved.

The book is beautifully printed, with wide-ranging notes at chapter ends and a good bibliography of world literature on Bernard.

Duke University

RAY C. PETRY

LORENZO VALLA: FILOLOGIA E STORIA NELL'UMANESIMO ITALIANO. By *Franco Gaeta*. (Naples: Istituto italiano per gli studi storici. 1955. Pp. 260.)

LORENZO Valla has always occupied a prominent place in the intellectual history of the fifteenth century but his work has been the subject of very diverse interpretations from the time of its first appearance to the modern historians of Italian humanism. This monograph by Franco Gaeta brings a new precision to the understanding of Valla's philological and historical achievement.

The first chapter analyzes the *De voluptate* and emphasizes Valla's repudiation of the Stoic tradition and his vindication of nature. In the second chapter Gaeta finds the primary significance of the *De libero arbitrio* in the attack on the distinctions of scholastic philosophy and in the "translation from theorem to postulate of the affirmation of human liberty." The results of the application of a philological method are described as exemplified in the critique of Aristotle in the *Disputationes dialecticae*, in the polemic against the jurisconsults in the *Epistola de insignis et armis* as well as in the *Elegantiae linguae Latinae*, and in the analysis of monastic vows in the *De professione religiosorum*. The influence on Erasmus of the *Annotations on the New Testament* is well known. In all these areas of the European intellectual tradition Valla established new lines of direction which were to be carried out in the sixteenth century in the logic of Ramus, in the great French school of jurisprudence, and in the Biblical exegesis and critique of ecclesiastical institutions by humanists and reformers. The common factor in Valla's work in these different fields is the willingness to regard an authoritative text or tradition as itself the product of human history and so subject to historical and philological criticism. Even though other kinds of argumentation may be used, as they are, for example, in the *De professione religiosorum*, the fact that Valla bases part of his case against monasticism on the historical meaning of the word *votum* is significant.

The same is true of the famous treatise on the Donation of Constantine. Gaeta places the various proofs adduced by Valla against the many doubts expressed in the medieval period on the Donation and the general attacks on the temporal power of the papacy and shows wherein Valla's argument was new. It is of particular interest that there are included in an appendix the memorials on the Donation written in 1435 and 1436 by Leonardo Therunda for presentation to Eugenius IV.

The final chapter deals with Valla's *History of Ferdinand of Aragon* which,

it is conceded, is the most "rhetorical" of all his works and perhaps the only one which, having been accepted on commission from Alfonso the Magnanimous, did not evoke the sense of personal commitment which is so marked a feature of Valla's other works. Even here, however, Gaeta argues, chiefly on the basis of the *proemium*, for a higher evaluation of Valla's historical work than that given, for example, by Fueter.

From these pages emerges the picture of a humanist whose scholarship was intimately linked to the arena of the active life. The lessons of history and philology were to make men better citizens and better Christians. Gaeta's book admirably documents the fact that, although Valla was one of the first to exemplify a consciousness of history and an awareness of a cultural situation different from his own, he never abandoned a conviction of the relevance of the past for the present.

Harvard University

MYRON P. GILMORE

THE WONDER THAT WAS INDIA: A SURVEY OF THE CULTURE OF THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT BEFORE THE COMING OF THE MUSLIMS. By *A. L. Basham*, Reader in the History of India in the University of London. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson; New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. xxi, 568. \$9.00.)

DR. Basham here gives us one of the most useful collections of information on ancient and classical India, both for the general reader and for the initiate, to have appeared in recent years. His attempt is to give a complete outline of Indian civilization up to the end of the twelfth century A.D., when the Moslems overran northern India. The outline includes sections on prehistory, history, society, the state, everyday life, religion, the arts, and language and literature, to which are added twelve appendixes on more special subjects and a number of brief bibliographies. The attempt to cover so much ground has forced the author occasionally, especially in the chapter on the arts, into a compressed style more suitable to reference than reading, but for the most part the work is eminently readable and remarkably well balanced.

One is chiefly impressed, I think, by Basham's honesty. Where a matter is in doubt, as many crucial matters of pre-Moslem India are, he is careful to warn the reader. His chapter on the state stands almost alone among general works on India in substantiating or qualifying the statements of Sanskrit theorists wherever possible with concrete examples drawn from inscriptions. Indeed this is the best chapter in the book and represents a not inconsiderable amount of original research. A further virtue from the point of view of the Indianist is the attention Basham devotes to Dravidian, specifically to Tamil, culture. Thus, the description of the city of Madura drawn from the *Maduraiṭṭāṇṇi* (pp. 203-204) and the selections from the oldest poetry of the Tamils, the Śaṅgam anthologies (pp. 463-69), are not only excellent in themselves but will be quite new to most Indianists.

Faults of fact are extremely rare. To the reviewer it seems a pity, however, that the book is not more fully annotated. Basham's practice is to give citations for all quotations of texts and inscriptions, but when he refers to facts obliquely or at second hand no citation is given. Thus, "We read of girls being kidnapped to serve as human sacrifices, and of a temple of Durgā at which a daily human sacrifice was offered" (p. 336). Presumably the author is referring to the *Mālatīmādhava* but the reader is not told this, and my guess is that a good many readers would like to be told. In this respect the book will fall behind its one competitor that I know of, the more detailed *L'Inde classique* of Louis Renou, Jean Filliozat, *et al.*, in the third volume of which, still unpublished, we are promised full annotations. But perhaps disappointing one set of readers will please a larger set.

Although Basham is concerned chiefly with facts he is not without general theories and evaluations of his subject matter. He is convinced that India on the whole was a cheerful land (p. 9); its art, for example, he feels is less a reflection of philosophy than a representation of the full and active life of the times (p. 346). The reviewer, although he would not go so far, approves an effort to break away from the pessimistic judgment that has often been made of pre-Moslem India, a judgment based largely on the writings of scholars and monks. And he approves thoroughly Basham's love of his subject, which appears throughout the book and gives it both depth and charm.

The book contains eighty-nine plates of handsome photographs of Indian works of art and twenty-six line drawings and maps, a fact which explains, as it also compensates for, the relatively high price of the volume.

Harvard University

DANIEL H. H. INGALLS

THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD: A TRANSLATION OF ISHĀQ'S *SĪRAT RASŪL ALLĀH*. Introduction and Notes by *A. Guillaume*, Professor of Arabic in the University of London. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xlvii, 813. \$10.10.)

YEARS ago the late Canon Gairdner in Cairo said that the best answer to the numerous apologetic Lives of Muhammad published in the interests of Muslim propaganda in the West would be an unvarnished translation of the earliest Arabic biography of the prophet. In this present volume such a translation is put into our hands in a beautifully printed and produced book.

It seems strange that though Muhammad was born toward the end of the sixth century our sources for the study of his life are so defective. His book, the *Qur'ān*, is contemporary, and contains his own pronouncements during the years of his ministry, but though it reveals somewhat of the development of his thought it contains remarkably little biographical material. Certain contemporary poets mentioned him in their verses, but only with such laudatory expressions as they commonly used in their panegyrics. Byzantine, Syriac, and Armenian writers who

mention him say only that he was a merchant who appeared as a prophet and sent the Arabs out on their wars of conquest. So we must rely on the Arabic sources, and of these none from an early date has survived in the original form. The earliest *Sira* of which we have any considerable portion is that of Ibn Ishāq, who died in 151 A.H.=768 A.D., and whose work was utilized by many later writers, e.g. by at-Ṭabarī (d. 310 A.H.=922 A.D.) in his *Annals*, and particularly by Ibn Hishām (d. 218 A.H.=833 A.D.), whose *Sira* is actually the earliest biography of the prophet still surviving. None of the later writers gives us Ibn Ishāq intact, even Ibn Hishām telling us expressly that he has omitted material that in his day was considered objectionable as well as material he himself thought irrelevant.

Dr. Guillaume has taken Ibn Hishām's *Sira* as his basis, extracting the material that is derived from Ibn Ishāq, relegating to an appendix all the notes, explanations by Ibn Hishām, but inserting in the proper chronological places extra material from Ibn Ishāq that may be gathered from at-Ṭabarī, al-Azraqī, or other works available to us. The translation has been very carefully done, and is preceded by an excellent introduction discussing what we know of the earlier attempts in Islam at constructing a biography of the prophet, the nature of Ibn Ishāq's own work, and the historical method of his editors, the whole forming one of the most important contributions to Islamic studies that has appeared in recent years.

Columbia University

ARTHUR JEFFERY

JOURNAL D'UN BOURGEOIS DU CAIRE: CHRONIQUE D'IBN IYÂS.

Translation and Notes by *Gaston Wiet*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'Ecole pratique des hautes études, VI^e Section.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1955. Pp. 449.)

GASTON Wiet, professor of Arabic at the Collège de France, has added to his distinguished record in Islamic and Arabic scholarship a new important contribution by his translation into French of one of the most important historians of Egypt under the later Circassian Mamlūk sultans, namely, Ibn Iyās (1448-1524).

While a previous volume by Wiet comprised the translation of Ibn Iyās's history of the Mamlūk sultans from 1467 to 1501 (edited by the Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1945), this volume, aptly entitled *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, is a continuation which deals with the historical events of Cairo from 1501 to 1516. These are the concluding years of the Mamlūk rule before the Ottoman conquest of Egypt and are, therefore, of particular importance. The chronicle of Ibn Iyās sheds highly interesting light on this most turbulent period of a declining dynasty, on many aspects of the court and its officials in Cairo.

Hitherto the only translation of a Mamlūk historian into the English language was that of Ibn Taghrī Birdī (d. 1469), so ably carried out by W. Popper of the University of California in Berkeley, of which two volumes of the English

translation covering the years from 1382 to 1411 have thus far appeared (Berkeley, 1954). The translation by G. Wiet into French of Ibn Iyās, who covers a later period, is therefore a most welcome supplementary undertaking and will help the Western medievalist and historian to form an idea about the historiographical approach of Arab chroniclers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The simplicity of Ibn Iyās's Arabic style and the clarity of his presentation of the events in the capital find an adequate expression in Wiet's French translation, which is based on the Arabic edition of the text as published in the *Bibliotheca Islamica*, Leipzig, 1931.

Every student of Islamic studies will be grateful for Wiet's devotion to his task and will look forward to its continuation and completion.

University of California, Berkeley

WALTER J. FISCHER

Modern European History

RENAISSANCE DIPLOMACY. By *Garrett Mattingly*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1955. Pp. 323. \$6.00.)

IN the history of international relations the diplomacy of the Renaissance era has always been characterized, in Gaston Zeller's words (*Histoire des relations internationales*, ed. P. Renouvin, II, part I [Paris, 1953], 1), as "un point de départ, un grand commencement." In his *Renaissance Diplomacy*, Professor Mattingly makes significant contributions to our understanding of the main phases in the new interplay of political forces which took place first within the Italian peninsula, then on the wider European scene. See, for instance, his lucid analysis of the events leading up to the "Concert of Italy" in the mid-fifteenth century (chaps. VIII and IX), or his trenchant remarks about the character of the dynastic power politics of the sixteenth century (chap. XVII). But these observations, highly illuminating and valuable though they are by themselves, are of relatively minor importance within the scope of Professor Mattingly's work. Whereas such scholars as E. Fueter, D. J. Hill, W. Windelband, V. P. Potemkin, and G. Zeller concerned themselves above all with the actual developments of the foreign policies of the period, Professor Mattingly defines as his own primary interest "to know more of the growth of diplomatic institutions, of the uses they were designed for and the assumptions people made about them, and of the spirit which gave them life" (p. 11). In choosing this approach Professor Mattingly has met a very definite need, since little has been written, especially in English, about the development of European diplomatic institutions before 1648.

To Professor Mattingly the Renaissance marks a point of departure in diplomatic history because it was in the Italy of that era that "diplomacy in the modern style, permanent diplomacy" (p. 55) made its first appearance. He finds "the one

major invention" of the period (p. 107) to be the institution of permanent embassies and devotes therefore the second part of his book mainly to their origins and growth. In agreement with Jakob Burckhardt, he emphasizes the "illegitimate" character of all political life in Renaissance Italy (chap. v) and shows how the resident ambassadors at the principal courts "were at once the agents and the symbols of a continuous system of diplomatic pressures" (p. 64). Thus Professor Mattingly stresses strongly the importance of the formation of peninsula-wide alliances during the 1440's and the conclusion of the Holy League of Venice of 1454 by which, "in theory, the organisation of Italian political space was complete" (p. 88). Since that time "resident ambassadors were commonplace throughout Italy," although they had been "extremely rare in 1440" (p. 89). The existence of permanent embassies led naturally to a more elaborate development of the machinery of Renaissance diplomacy and to sharper definitions of the duties of the diplomat (chaps. x and xi).

The struggles between the great European powers for the hegemony over Italy which followed the French invasion of 1494 "ended the closed period of Italian Renaissance diplomacy with dramatic abruptness," but at the same time "spread the new Italian diplomatic machinery throughout Europe" (p. 121). To this diffusion Professor Mattingly devotes the third part of his book, in which he succeeds particularly well in illuminating the diplomatic techniques and forms as they evolved in Spain, England, and France during the first part of the sixteenth century and in describing the roles played by some of the outstanding diplomats of that time.

The whole era of the Counter-Reformation, from the 1560's to 1659, is for Professor Mattingly "a catastrophic interruption" since "the religious wars nearly wrecked the diplomatic institutions with which Europe had been trying to adjust its quarrels" (p. 195). However, the institutional and legal foundations of the permanent diplomacy of later modern times had been firmly laid during the formative period of the Renaissance. This same era also witnessed the publication of quite a few books in which authors of all nationalities attempted to formulate the theory and practice of diplomacy, as well as define the personal qualities required of the professional diplomat. See, for instance, the analysis of "the first literary treatment of the new diplomatic machinery" (p. 108) written by Ermolao Barbaro in the 1490's, or the chapter (xxii) dealing with De Vera's *El Embajador* of 1620.

Professor Mattingly's *Renaissance Diplomacy* is an important book because it presents the many facets of a highly complex subject in a way which is as readable as it is scholarly. The specialist in the field will profit greatly from the comprehensive references given in the notes to the relevant primary sources and secondary literature.

Cornell University

THEODOR E. MOMMSEN

ENGLAND AND THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE: THE GROWTH OF INTEREST IN ITS HISTORY AND ART. By J. R. Hale, Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. (London: Faber and Faber. 1954. Pp. 276. 21s.)

At first sight J. R. Hale's *England and the Italian Renaissance* looks like an English supplement to W. K. Ferguson's *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*; yet it is not so, and its author does not intend it to be so. Indeed on Hale's showing, the attempt would have been futile since, among the rather murky conceptions of Italian history entertained among the few Englishmen who thought about the matter at all from the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the conception of rebirth appeared only most fitfully. It is only *after* J. A. Symonds and a few of his contemporaries naturalized Michelet's notion about "the discovery of the world and man" that the idea of the Renaissance plays a significant part in English history writing, and Hale ends his story with Symonds.

Ferguson's book is essentially a study of the transformations of the climate of opinion of the Western world as they are revealed by shifting attitudes among *historians* to the concept, "the Renaissance." Hale's volume is on the other hand primarily an investigation of changes in English taste insofar as it can be discovered in the attitude of Englishmen, whether historians or not, to what happened in Italy or what they imagined happened in Italy from the thirteenth through the sixteenth century. Since what Englishmen up to 1800 knew about the subject was little and that little full of error, and replete with confusion, Hale's study cannot provide much in the way of a nuanced view of English taste or thought to that date. From about 1800 on, however, the interest of Englishmen in the art and history of Italy during the Renaissance period gradually picked up. The meaty part of Hale's book is the last section, from Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici* in 1791 to Symonds' *Catholic Reaction* in 1886. In these later chapters, he traces the great reversal in taste which awakened English art lovers to the splendors of the painters before Raphael and cast the post-Raphaelites, previously idolized, into the outer darkness. Hale also discusses at considerable length the personal roots of the views on the Renaissance of Roscoe, Ruskin, and Symonds. His chapter on the last is especially interesting. He seeks to demonstrate that Symonds' long travail with the Renaissance both originated in and alleviated inner conflicts of inordinate intensity and complexity and that some of the inadequacies of Symonds' life work reflect the unresolved tensions of a much tormented spirit.

Queens College, New York

J. H. HEXTER

ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS. By G. R. Elton, Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. [A History of England, Volume IV.] (London: Methuen and Company. 1955. Pp. xi, 504. 25s.)

THIS volume replaces a volume of the same title written by A. D. Innes and forming part of an eight-volume history of England put out many years ago

under the general editorship of Sir Charles Oman. Like the Innes volume it is chronologically arranged with the exception of a chapter devoted to the "Price Revolution." It contains an index and a brief bibliography, remarkable perhaps for the fact that it omits J. A. Froude's great classic, Merriman's *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell*, and Pollen's *English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. Our younger contemporaries seem to have lost respect for Froude, on the grounds apparently that his narrative was colored by the prepossessions of a mid-Victorian liberal. Probably their own narratives in time will reveal an analogous coloration. Certainly for diligence in research and effectiveness in presentation, Froude still leads the ranks of all historians of Tudor England who have followed him. Considering the fact that the hero of Mr. Elton's narrative is Thomas Cromwell, it seems a little ungracious that he should have omitted the late Professor Merriman's pioneer work. For Merriman has anticipated by fifty years many of Elton's findings on Cromwell. And Merriman has provided complete documentation, including a verbatim edition of Cromwell's correspondence. As for Father Pollen's work on the English Catholics, though unfortunately he did not live to finish it, there are very few books on Tudor England which reveal such profound scholarship and which have presented the Roman Catholic view of the situation so convincingly.

Mr. Elton's volume contains no documentation, and he asks us to accept his *ipse dixit* upon many problems still *sub judice*. As one should expect from his earlier work, *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (Cambridge, Eng., 1953), his main emphasis is upon administration. His discussion of foreign affairs is superficial, and though he reflects current emphasis on matters economic and social, he leaves us a little uncertain on moot points. For example, he discounts the effects of the enclosure movement on page 88, and assigns to it a major role on page 230. In some respects he breaks not only with tradition but even with the findings of modern scholars. All the glory which Pollard attached to Henry VIII as the great parliamentarian Elton transfers to Cromwell, whom he describes as the "revolutionary genius of Tudor times." Indeed what Froude did for Cecil at the expense of Queen Elizabeth, Elton seeks to do for Cromwell at the expense of her father. It is never easy to distribute responsibility for policy between Tudor monarchs and their ministers, particularly if the ministers, as in the case of both Cromwell and Cecil, left voluminous records of their activities. This much is certain in both cases, that ministerial action was contingent upon royal approval. Cecil, more aware of that than Cromwell, ended his life after forty years in the royal service, full of age and honors, while Cromwell ended his in one quarter of the time, at the block.

Mr. Elton writes without religious bias, indeed without much interest in the religious problem as such. He dismisses Hugh Latimer with never a word of his inspiring leave-taking at the stake, and Thomas More and Edmund Campion without mention of the glories of their martyrdom for their faith. Secular mindedness is not the best possible equipment for historians of a century in which reli-

gious fervor, not lightly to be dismissed as mere fanaticism, was a factor of first-rate importance even in secular affairs.

In matters administrative Mr. Elton is at his best, though he does not always seem to realize that the machinery of government mattered less than the operators of it. Principal secretaries, for example, were at times mere clerks, at times little less than prime ministers. It depended on the man, not upon the office. Incidentally, Mr. Elton is mistaken in saying that in Walsingham's time there was only one secretary. He has forgotten Sir Thomas Smith and Sir Thomas Wilson and William Davison.

In his discussion of the Elizabethan privy council he has ascribed to the group as a whole responsibility for government action which was in fact confined to a small group within the council. The so-called *Acts of Privy Council* are very unreliable records of the activities of that body, but they do serve to emphasize the important fact that the council as a whole was chiefly engaged in routine matters of administration.

He follows Neale closely on matters parliamentary, and he could not have a better guide, though it must not be forgotten that Neale concerned himself chiefly with the relations of the crown to parliament and ignored parliamentary action when the crown was not involved. An examination of the Statutes book reveals the fact that parliament handled a great deal of business which did not involve friction with the queen. Unfortunately it lacked dramatic quality and was very inadequately recorded.

The last part of the book, particularly that part which deals with the period after the Armada, is handled too briefly to be of much value. What Mr. Elton calls "The Tragedy of Essex" is disposed of in less than five pages. It reveals no trace of the growing conviction that there is a good deal more to be said for Essex than the orthodox story reveals. Mr. Elton advises that Strachey's *Elizabeth and Essex* "is perhaps best left unread" (p. 473 n.). As between Elton's account and Strachey's, I personally prefer Strachey's. Strachey certainly saw the aged queen much more vividly and I think grasped her character much more exactly. I wonder if in the whole range of Tudor literature there is any description of her quite so satisfying as Strachey's:

"The fierce old hen sat still, brooding over the English nation, whose pullulating energies were growing swiftly to ripeness and unity under her wing. She sat still, but every feather bristled. She was tremendously alive."

Villa Nova, Pennsylvania

CONYERS READ

EDWARD GIBBON: HIS VIEW OF LIFE AND CONCEPTION OF HISTORY. By *Per Fuglum*. [Oslo Studies in English. Publications of the British Institute in the University of Oslo.] (Oslo: Akademisk Forlag; Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1953. Pp. 176. Kr. 10,50; 10s. 6d.)

EDWARD GIBBON E LA CULTURA EUROPEA DEL SETTECENTO. By Giuseppe Giarrizzo. (Naples: Istituto italiano per gli studi storici. 1954. Pp. 534. L. 3000.)

In his thesis, Per Fuglum attempts to analyze Gibbon's views as reflected in his works and, if possible, to investigate their genesis, and discover Gibbon's "reaction to life in its totality" (p. 7). Mr. Fuglum's approach is systematic, but some of his chapters (on social problems, economics) are formulated in terms more relevant to a twentieth- than to an eighteenth-century historian. Since one of the stages in Gibbon's growth as a historian was his rejection of the *esprit de système*, it is not surprising that Mr. Fuglum's findings are often negative, sometimes contradictory, and that he discovers inconsistencies in Gibbon himself. Thus Gibbon was not a "typical" eighteenth-century man (p. 9), but his views on religion reveal him as a child of his age (p. 26). Gibbon is also reproached or praised for not having seen or raised problems which could hardly have been posed in his time, e.g., for not doubting the desirability of maintaining the House of Lords (pp. 85 f.). Mr. Fuglum's approach leads him to the true but obvious conclusions that Gibbon was not a social reformer (p. 100), that he failed to connect economic history with historical processes in general (p. 103), that he did not believe in infinite progress, and, finally, that he did not offer any coherent and systematic explanation for the decay of the empire in the *Decline and Fall* (p. 154).

Fuglum tries to reconcile these inconsistencies by stressing Gibbon's moderation, his harmonious attitude toward life, and his moderate agnosticism (pp. 30, 102, 116)—statements which are perfectly correct, if for the wrong reasons. The author tries to elucidate his conception of history in terms of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century setting, but, in the process of doing so, he manages to mention Pyrrhonism only once and then in a quotation from Gibbon. Tillemont's name is likewise mentioned a single time, and Spanheim, the father of modern numismatics, not at all. And yet, simply from Gibbon's references to Tillemont, one can obtain a highly instructive insight into the nature of Gibbon's conception of historical writing. Mr. Fuglum also fails to mention that both of Gibbon's "causes" for the decline of the empire (decay of public virtue and excessive magnitude) came straight from Montesquieu. If he had studied the occurrences of the phrase "useful prejudice" in the *Decline*, he might have modified his view that Hume's social relativism was wholly unacceptable to Gibbon (p. 29).

One also, of course, encounters in Mr. Fuglum's thesis a number of acceptable observations, such as the remark that Gibbon combines a deterministic view of large-scale events with an indeterministic attitude toward particular happenings. Still, one closes his book with some fundamental questions unanswered. Was Gibbon's cult of the Roman Empire really a nostalgia for a Golden Age (p. 134)? Is it sure he considered Christianity one of the main causes of the empire's decline (p. 126)? Is the independence of Gibbon's mind (p. 154) an adequate

explanation for the puzzling fact that the theme of decline found its monumental treatment in an optimistic century?

Such questions are more adequately dealt with in the lengthy book by Giuseppe Giarrizzo. The first part is devoted to Gibbon's "Preparation" for writing the *Decline* ("conversion" to history, attitude toward antiquarianism and the philosophic spirit, shaping of his decision to write the *Decline*); the second, with select aspects of the work itself (the causes of the decline of the empire, the treatment of Christianity, concept of the Middle Ages). The author shows an enviable familiarity with histories and historians from the Renaissance to Gibbon's time, and he discusses authors (many of them "Antiquarians") whom Gibbon perused in his formative years. Gibbon's position is outlined against the background of Natural Law theory, Pyrrhonism, and the clash between the *érudits* and the *philosophes*. In this perspective, Gibbon's combining of the erudite historiographical experience of the seventeenth century with the philosophic anti-Pyrrhonism of the eighteenth becomes more understandable (p. 108).

Mr. Giarrizzo is more positive than Mr. Fuglum in stating Gibbon's dependence on the thought of his time, and thereby he likewise succeeds in better explaining particular views of Gibbon and stressing his originality. For example, he shows convincingly that Montesquieu's *Considérations* was the skeleton for the first part of the *Decline* (p. 270), and at the same time how much more complex and articulate (pp. 271, 298) Gibbon's vision was. Gibbon's "virtues" and "vices" and preference for the *juste milieu* are well explained in terms of Hume's contribution to his thought (pp. 284, 400); Adam Smith is detected in Gibbon's reluctance to condemn luxury (p. 256); Gibbon's "pessimism" is a combination of the Protestant vision of Christianity and historiographical organicism (p. 297).

In Gibbon's *Decline* Giarrizzo sees a history of Europe—an entity of which historical thinking had by then become aware (cf. p. 235)—and the contrast, sometimes implicit, drawn by Gibbon between eighteenth-century Europe and late antiquity is the clue to the understanding of some of his pages (cf. p. 298). Such an observation is perspicacious and far removed from Mr. Fuglum's "nostalgia for a Golden Age."

This brings the author to his new interpretation of the *Decline* and to one of his most original points: his explanation for the study of Roman decline in eighteenth-century historiography as a search for the roots of modern civilization. This put the Middle Ages into focus (pp. 194 f.) and led to a re-evaluation of opinions on the barbarians. Gibbon, while not swallowing the myth of the "noble savage," displays a partly sympathetic attitude toward them (pp. 187, 221); in accordance with the "biological" conception, the empire had to fall, regardless of barbarians (p. 297); nor could Christianity be taken as a *cause* of the empire's fall (p. 384). Giarrizzo even believes that the nucleus of the *Decline* was originally medieval and its late antique parts written as a function of their medieval and more voluminous sequel (pp. 208, 217).

These views made the reading of Mr. Giarrizzo's book worth the effort,

though the effort is considerable. His style is obscure (his own renderings of Gibbon's periods are among the more lucid parts of the book), his line of argument tortuous, partly on account of the mixture of the topical and chronological approach. For all that, his substantial book is to be recommended to students of historiography and of eighteenth-century thought.

Institute for Advanced Study

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *T. S. Ashton*, Professor Emeritus of Economic History in the University of London, London School of Economics. (London: Methuen; New York: Barnes and Noble. 1955. Pp. vii, 257. 18s., \$4.00.)

HERE is the first published installment of a five-volume *Economic History of England*, which is being edited by Professor Ashton and written entirely by staff members of the London School of Economics. In area the survey is limited to England. In time the span is "from the early Middle Ages to our own day," divided into the medieval period, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the eighteenth century, 1800-1870, and 1870-1939. In interest the center has shifted away from that intense preoccupation with economic organization, technology, social structure, associations, agitations, and legislation which prevailed a generation or two ago. Instead it is focused on trends of development, long and short alike, with measurement wherever possible; on the relation between population, productivity, and production of goods and services; in short, on finding "answers (partial and provisional though these must be) to the questions economists ask, or should ask, of the past."

Professor Ashton's volume is a good example of this fresh approach, both in what is said and still more in what is unsaid. The latter makes a long list, for there is little talk of "technological change, of the policies and ideas of the period, or of modern reconstructions of these enshrined in such words as Capitalism, Mercantilism, and Imperialism." Like many other British scholars, Ashton confesses "distaste for these imprecise words, which seem to [him] to have blurred, rather than sharpened, our vision of the past" (p. v). So much so that he resolved no word ending in "ism" should creep into the book and had to struggle hard against the temptation to change "baptism" into "christening." He also parts company with those economic historians and other students of society who "write their stories in terms of *the* capitalist, *the* entrepreneur, *the* wage-earner, as though for each group there were an ascertainable norm, divergences from which might safely be ignored" (p. 17).

The story is told in seven chapters of almost equal length, dealing with the people of England; agriculture and its products; internal trade and transport; manufactures; overseas trade and shipping; money, banking, and exchange; and labor. On each topic there is much, both in detail and interpretation, that will be new to general historians, even those familiar with the themes and theses of the

author's classic *The Industrial Revolution* (Home University Library, 1948) or of his two essays in *Capitalism and the Historians* (1954). There is also quite a lot that will be fresh, and maybe provocative, to specialists in the field. This is particularly true of the chapter on money, banking, and exchange; of the stress placed on the causes and consequences of changes in the rate of interest; and of the conclusions which Ashton has reached about trends and fluctuations by careful examination of hitherto neglected statistical tables—some of them running back to 1700—bearing on the production of such excisable commodities as beer, spirits, starch, and printed cloths, or on the number of men employed in the merchant marine. This new raw material will, I understand, be more fully fabricated in a forthcoming book on fluctuations during the eighteenth century. I hope we do not have to wait long for it, or for the other four volumes in the new series. If they are as good as the present work, they will be most welcome.

University of Minnesota

HERBERT HEATON

THE ORIGINS OF THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY. By J. H. Stewart Reid.
(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1955. Pp. 258. \$4.50.)

THE first half of this study covers the period from the Reform Bill of 1867 to the emergence of Labor as a distinct parliamentary force in the general election of 1906. It is an interesting and well-written survey of the conditions, the agitation and the organizing that contributed to the creation of the Labor party, but neither in detail nor interpretation does it add significantly to the work of such historians of the labor movement as G. D. H. Cole and Henry Pelling. The second half of Mr. Reid's book reveals a fresher approach and contains the most detailed and penetrating account yet presented of Labor's record in parliament from 1906 to 1914.

Though Labor was only a minority partner in 1906 in a Liberal landslide victory, by 1910 it had made an extremely impressive showing in attaining its short-term practical goals. That this was due in no small measure to a genuine enthusiasm for social reform among Liberal back benchers is ably demonstrated by the author as he draws heavily on Hansard to scrutinize the alignment of Liberal and Labor forces in passing a Trades Disputes Act almost completely satisfactory to the trade unions, in providing for meals for needy school children, in creating labor exchanges to help the unemployed find work, and in curbing the worst abuses of the so-called "sweated trades."

After 1910 the Liberal government proved less responsive. Its majority was reduced in the 1910 elections, and its enthusiasm for strictly working-class measures appeared spent. Not a single clear-cut Labor victory was obtained in the Commons, Lloyd George's National Insurance scheme of 1911 being opposed by many Laborites, particularly among the socialists, as a trifling concession, a mere palliative. Yet the parliamentary Labor party continued to give the government its staunch support, partly out of fear of a Conservative return to power. The

dissatisfaction in the Labor party which mounted steadily until 1914 is described and analyzed by Reid at considerable length.

The most serious accusation aimed at Ramsay MacDonald and other party leaders by trade union and socialist critics was that in general elections and by-elections from 1906 onward they had discouraged, if not indeed sabotaged, Labor bids for seats coveted by the Liberals, having bound themselves to the Liberals in secret electoral agreements. The evidence cited in proof was impressive but circumstantial. Reid mistakenly asserts that there is "no evidence of any [Liberal-Labor] agreement regarding candidatures" in the crucial 1906 contest (p. 111). He has not gone deeply into available sources, especially private correspondence; otherwise, he would have found that a clandestine, far-reaching, and remarkably effective electoral agreement between MacDonald and Liberal headquarters was in operation in 1906.

During the war an electoral truce precluded such agreements. After the war when Lloyd George drew the majority of Liberals with him into a Conservative-dominated coalition, Liberal-Labor co-operation along the old lines was no longer possible. Already, Reid observes, the Labor party had become virtually a socialist body in its stand on specific questions. When, in 1918, it adopted a clearly socialist basis and reorganized itself nationally for possible contests in every constituency, it was emphatically reasserting its independence, its determination henceforth to challenge both Liberals and Conservatives alike.

Ohio State University

PHILIP POIRIER

ROYAL AIR FORCE, 1939-1945. Volume I, THE FIGHT AT ODDS. By *Denis Richards*. Volume II, THE FIGHT AVAILS. By *Denis Richards* and *Hilary St. G. Saunders*. Volume III, THE FIGHT IS WON. By *Hilary St. G. Saunders*. (London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1953, 1954. Pp. xi, 430; ix, 415; ix, 441. \$2.43 ea., \$7.29 the set.)

THESE volumes cover not only operations based on the United Kingdom but also the many campaigns conducted around the Mediterranean and in the Far East. As such they are a valuable contribution, for, apart from the official war-time booklets and few memoirs, very little so far has appeared in print on the R.A.F. during World War II. Moreover, they provide valuable insights into high policy and unintentionally justify the 1917 resolution to create an independent air force.

The government announced its decision to expand the R.A.F. on July 19, 1934; the program was only just approaching realization when war came. At first the R.A.F. had to learn much from the Germans. It proved to be an apt pupil: in the Fall of France the British had 20 squadrons, the backbone of the Allied air forces opposing the *Luftwaffe*. In the second battle of France, the Allies had 171 squadrons of fighters and fighter-bombers alone, with the result that they held not only

superiority but absolute supremacy for some one hundred miles behind the German lines. Though it came perilously close to losing the battle of Britain, Fighter Command did prevent the Germans from putting their invasion plans into operation; thus as long as the sea lanes remained open, Britain could survive. The importance of those sea lanes is emphasized by the fact that one fourth of the space herein is devoted to the work of Coastal Command. Gradually as longer-ranged aircraft and radar came into operational use, its work expanded from convoy protection to an offensive against all U-boats. While Coastal dealt with those at sea, Bomber Command, often under Admiralty importunity, did its best to see that many of them never got that far. However, its night bombing offensive was not really able to hit its stride until late 1942 when at last sufficient numbers of heavy bombers and navigational aids were available, and restrictions on area attacks, imposed in deference to American reluctance to bombing civilians, were removed. Thereafter it proceeded to burn out German cities in order to cripple production.

Slightly more than half the chapters in these volumes are devoted to operations from Great Britain and over northern Europe; the remainder deal with campaigns in defense of British commitments abroad. Considerable space is devoted to the complex campaigns in the Mediterranean and Near Eastern theaters where operations were hampered by complicated political situations, particularly with regard to Syria and Iraq. From the air point of view, the great desert campaigns were contests for airfields. It was here that the 2nd Tactical Air Force was born and educated, brought to maturity in the Sicilian and Italian campaigns, and finally transferred to the United Kingdom for the D-Day operations. In Volume II, the opening of hostilities in the Far East provides a very useful picture of the dilemmas faced by a scrupulous commander. Brooke-Popham's morally correct decision not to forestall the Japanese by advancing into southern Siam lost him the first round, and ultimately the whole Malayan campaign. On the other hand, the dreary retreat from Burma was stopped and the tide turned by the use of air power. Here transport aircraft enabled the infantry to frustrate Japanese outflanking tactics by holding their ground. However, the demands for men and material in other theaters prevented a full air offensive from being launched in the Far East until the last year of the war.

World War II was the first real test of air power, and this record of the R.A.F. provides solid material for those who wish to study what air power can and cannot do. Written, like the Morison volumes on the United States Navy, with full access to official documents and freedom of judgment, these volumes are clear and concise, adequately illustrated with maps and photographs, and yet not without the human touch. If the footnotes refer only to published works, some compensation may be found in the indexes, which are unusually full for an English publication, and in the succinct summary of the Royal Air Force's war effort in the final chapter of the trilogy.

University of Massachusetts

ROBIN D. S. HIGHAM

LES RELATIONS ENTRE LA FRANCE ET LA GRAND-BRETAGNE (1871-1878). By *Charles Bloch*. [Ouvrage publié avec le concours du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.] (Paris: Les Editions internationales. 1955. Pp. 287. 1,200 fr.)

CONCEIVING the years under study to constitute a transition period in diplomacy from the policy of aristocratic cabinets to that influenced more perceptibly by the bourgeoisie, and from European continental concerns to the "new imperialism," Bloch examines in detail the relations of the two Western powers who led in these developments. After a perceptive and discriminating section on the "general" aspects of Franco-British relations, their respective positions in 1871, personalities, aims, and political and economic questions, he deals with "special" problems in two parts divided by the war scare of 1875. In the earlier part, he takes up the British attitude toward Franco-German and Franco-Italian relations, the Spanish civil war, the Near East (including therein Tripoli, Tunis, "black Africa," and Central Asia), rivalries in the Far East and the Americas, and finally the war scare of 1875. In the period after 1875, he devotes major attention to the Near Eastern crisis, adding short chapters on Tunis and Egypt, and one on such "secondary questions" as western Africa, China, and Newfoundland. In all, he has devoted nearly half the book to relations over the Near East.

Beyond spelling out the relationships between France and Great Britain on the basis mainly of the French archives and the Foreign Office correspondence between London and Paris, as well as most published sources, Bloch has added little that is new, although his opening survey and his conclusions offer some thoughtful and unusual interpretations. He finds that the rivalries and differences that developed between the two powers in this period foreshadowed the tensions of 1883-1904, excepting that as yet there was little economic rivalry in colonial affairs. He feels that the British attitude toward France changed between 1871 and 1878 from that of support in order to restore the balance of power to that of disregard and even a certain mistrust because of gradual French recovery and also British failure to understand French institutions and viewpoints. On the other hand, France, preoccupied with Germany, wanted a genuine co-operation which, at least while Decazes was minister of foreign affairs (1873-77), was to include Russia and perhaps Austria in order to checkmate Germany. By 1878, however, circumstances compelled the French government to choose between England and Russia. After the danger of a Russo-British war had passed in the spring of 1878, Foreign Minister Waddington took the British side in the settlement of the Near Eastern question at the cost of giving England preponderance in the eastern Mediterranean and thus placing France in a secondary position when the "new imperialism" developed apace after 1880. Seeming to forget France's relative weakness even as late as 1878-1879, Bloch condemns Waddington for subordinating French policy too completely to Britain's. Decazes, on the other hand, he greatly admires for both his objectives and his diplomacy.

Though the author has generally handled his sources acceptably, his study

suffers at some points, especially in the case of the 1875 war scare, by his failure to study carefully the related British Foreign Office papers, such as the correspondence between London and Berlin. Thus he presents the French side of his subject with greater sureness and plausibility than the British. Moreover, in describing British policy in the Eastern crisis, particularly in 1876-1877, he does not take sufficient notice of domestic politics and consequently does not fully appreciate the position and policy of the Disraeli government. The part played by British Ambassador Layard at Constantinople in promoting the idea of Pan-Islamic support for the sultan in North Africa, as well as in Central Asia, seems likewise to have escaped him despite his use of the Layard papers in the British Museum. Nevertheless, on the whole, this is a solid work whose principal value lies in its analysis of French policy and in its panoramic coverage, however slight at some points, of Franco-British relations.

Clark University

DWIGHT E. LEE

FRANZ JOSEPH AND NAPOLEON III, 1852-1864: A STUDY OF AUSTRO-FRENCH RELATIONS. By *Charles W. Hallberg*. (New York: Bookman Associates-Twayne Publishers. 1955. Pp. 448. \$5.00.)

PERSONALITIES as well as problems always influence international policies. Of the men who influenced the policies of the major powers during the era of the Crimean War, emphasis usually has been given to British statesmen or to the personal quarrel between Tsar Nicholas I and Emperor Napoleon III. The dozen years after the establishment of the Second Empire brought significant developments in European diplomacy. The general story has been told from many specialized approaches, an increased use of original sources altering much in traditional interpretation. It was left to Mr. Hallberg to produce a scholarly study of the interactions of influences to be attributed largely to Francis Joseph and Napoleon III.

The relation of Austrian and French policies to each other is set forth in this study. Mr. Hallberg demonstrates that the two emperors were themselves the chief instruments in determining their respective foreign policies. "It was unfortunate," he suggests, that Francis Joseph was "dependent upon ministers who lacked the skill and the firmness of Metternich and Schwarzenberg" (p. 344).

Napoleon, whose ministers were "mere servants" (p. 23), determined to destroy the conservative alliance of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, of which Austria became the principal defender. He had a hand in two wars, the beginning of the dismemberment of the Austrian Empire, the new Italian Kingdom, revolts in the Balkans and Poland, and the intensification of Austro-Prussian rivalry. Influencing factors included Austria's procrastination during the Crimean War, the astute diplomacy of Cavour, the pro-Italian attitude of England.

Rising nationalism gave Napoleon a weapon of considerable potentialities because of Austria's vulnerability to it. In the Italian problem Austria upheld its

own interests while supporting old treaties. The ultimatum to Piedmont in April, 1859, was a blunder: it left Austria isolated and enabled France to enter what appeared to be a defensive war (pp. 188, 192).

Balkan problems revealed Napoleon's penchant for attempting to make territorial bargains. The Polish question undermined the post-Crimean War Franco-Russian concert and in the end left Napoleon virtually isolated.

These and other significant matters are analyzed in this well-written monograph, which reveals much research in the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv of Vienna. The work utilizes published documents and the manifold productions of other researchers. Whereas the beginning and end of Hallberg's selected period could be studied further, the author leaves undisclosed little of consequence for the diplomatic relations of Austria and France for the period 1854 to 1862. Our thanks for an excellent study within self-imposed limits.

University of California, Davis

VERNON J. PURYEAR

UNTERNEHMERKRÄFTE IM HAMBURGER PORTUGAL- UND SPANIENHANDEL 1590-1625. By *Hermann Kellenbenz*. [Veröffentlichungen der Wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Forschungsstelle, Band X.] (Hamburg: Verlag der Hamburgischen Bücherei. 1954. Pp. 424.)

THE role of the maritime Germans, or loosely the Hanseatics, in the Iberian trade has long deserved more detailed study. Before World War I Bernard Hagedorn collected German archival data for the subject, but, a war casualty, he left the work unfinished. His *Nachlass* landed in the Lübeck archives, where it gathered dust until the Hansische Geschichtsverein after World War II commissioned Dr. Hermann Kellenbenz to bring the study to completion. Kellenbenz had already collected extensive material for Hanseatic history (with emphasis upon Hamburg) in various north and central German archives. The Hagedorn collection was now placed at his disposal, and he was given funds to extend his archival search to Belgium, Spain, and Portugal. This volume on Hamburg entrepreneurs in the Portuguese and Spanish trades, 1590-1625, is the first book-length product of his investigations into Hanseatic-Iberian commercial relations.

Why the focus in this initial volume upon Hamburg in the Iberian trade, and upon the period 1590-1625? Kellenbenz justifies it on the grounds that: (1) his previous research had centered upon Hamburg, (2) in the city's archives, documentation for the period happens to have survived in relative abundance, and (3) by 1590 and throughout the period here considered Hamburg, among all Hanseatic cities, enjoyed undisputed primacy in the Iberian trade.

In his foreword Kellenbenz leaves no doubt as to his approach to the subject. Personality in history he avows to be of primary importance: people, individuals, here specifically merchants, entrepreneurs, factors, skippers—the human network that managed and conducted the trade. Statistical measurement of shipping and commodity volume, as attempted by Ernst Baasch, he considers unattainable by

reason of the fragmentary nature of surviving records; the search for "the typical in economic life," as pursued by Erwin Wiskeman, he deems illusory.

This book, however, is far more than a compilation of business family pedigrees. It opens with a useful chapter on Hanseatic-Iberian political relations. The German cities were officially neutral in the struggles between Spain and her northern enemies, but that their peninsular trade fluctuated sharply with political and military developments is here made clear. The following four chapters describe generally navigation and trade: ships, routes, ports, goods exported and imported, and Hamburg's statistical position as against the other German cities in the Iberian trade.

The freshest part of the study, the long middle section, comprising almost half the book, treats the entrepreneur in Hamburg's peninsular trade. Here we get down to the human particulars. Kellenbenz has dug out the names of some one hundred Hamburg-based firms and families engaged in the Iberian trade, traced their genealogies, and insofar as possible has indicated their family and business connections. He divides them into: (1) native Hamburgers and Low Germans domiciled there, (2) High and East Middle Germans, (3) Netherland firms and families and their Lower Rhine associates, (4) the Portuguese (chiefly Jewish) merchant colony, and (5) Italians and other Catholics. Germans naturally predominated, but the Netherlands were numerous, and because of the scale of their operations and their affluence (as indicated by the size of their accounts in the Hamburg Bank) were far more important than their numbers. The Portuguese Jewish colony was small but active. Though not every man's reading, this section will have permanent reference value for the specialist in European economic history.

The final section (five chapters) extends the inquiry to the industries created or stimulated in Hamburg as a consequence of the Iberian trade; the network of commercial factors maintained by the city's merchants in both the Atlantic and Mediterranean areas; the relationships among shipper, carrier, and mariner; and the organizational pattern of the trade. A closing chapter tries to come to some general conclusions.

This is a painstaking, solid piece of work, the author making wide use of the specialized printed literature and of much and diverse manuscript material. Yet there is much more that could have been, and ideally should have been, exploited, notably in Dutch archives, for in the United Netherlands lay the prime center of Europe's commerce and finance in this period. Amsterdam set the pace; the rest tried to follow. Hamburg's rise was sharply conditioned by, and associated with, Amsterdam's ebullient capitalism, a fact Kellenbenz indeed senses but does not archivally implement. Use of the Lisbon archives would also have revealed the much larger scale of Hamburg's participation, via Portugal, in the Brazil trade. Lastly, anything approaching a final judgment concerning the importance of Hamburg's Iberian trade, as compared with that of other German cities and with that of other nationalities, will require not only the human but also the

statistical approach. European economic history records may be fragmentary, but nonetheless they are massive. If they are worked in the mass, and this our mechanical age makes more feasible, we still may learn much of the essence not only about "who" but also about "how much." In this study, however, Dr. Kellenbenz has very appreciably expanded our knowledge. May his second volume promptly see the light of day.

University of California, Berkeley

ENGEL SLUITER

MITTELEUROPA IN GERMAN THOUGHT AND ACTION, 1815-1945.

By *Henry Cord Meyer*, Pomona College, Claremont. [International Scholars Forum: A Series of Books by American Scholars, Volume IV.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1955. Pp. xv, 378. 23.75 guilders.)

Mitteleuropa is a multi-faceted term with economic and political overtones far beyond its narrow geographic meaning. As a slogan it has inspired both German dreams for expansion and Allied propaganda against such expansion. Its history presents a confusing pattern of thought and action, legend and fact. To separate these various elements and to throw light on the many aspects of this elusive term is the purpose of this authoritative study.

The story falls into three natural divisions of varying lengths. In the first of these, covering the century before 1914, the myth that German plans and plots for the domination of Central Europe originated and matured long before the Great War is successfully dispelled. "There was," the author concludes, "no compelling ideological, political, or economic force in Middle Europe before 1914 to affect events in the direction of creating a German-dominated, mid-European structure." To be sure, there were proponents both in Germany and Austria, men like Lagarde, Schönerer, and the Pan-Germans, who stressed Germany's mid-European mission. But they were merely "slender threads," dwarfed by the dominant trend toward *Weltpolitik*. It was only when the latter trend was suddenly blocked in 1914 that the *Mitteleuropa* alternative became important. "*Mitteleuropa*," as its major apostle, Friedrich Naumann, put it, "is the fruit of war."

The major part of the book deals with the heyday and eclipse of *Mitteleuropa* during World War I. There can be no doubt about the deep hold that the compelling vision of some kind of Central European federation had over the minds of many Germans. Their hopes were given a voice and *Mitteleuropa* was given a "soul" in Naumann's famous and much misunderstood book. But even the harsh necessity of war could not overcome the many obstacles to the realization of this dream—official reluctance, especially on the part of the Austrian government; Austro-German differences over the future of Poland; opposition among the non-German peoples involved; continued hope for the resumption of *Weltpolitik* and the creation of a colonial *Mittelafrika*; and, most important, the prospect of a far-reaching *Ostpolitik* that arose with Russia's revolution and her subsequent military collapse. *Mitteleuropa*, therefore, remained pretty much an im-

pressive façade, a "cartographic mirage," with only minor implementations in the economic field. Its major significance was the effect it had on Germany's opponents, who saw *Mitteleuropa* as Germany's major war aim and as the culmination of a carefully laid Pan-German plot of long standing. It was this mistaken interpretation and the fear it created that ever after cast a heavy shadow upon Germany's pre-1914 past and that determined the attitude of the peacemakers in 1919.

But the *Mitteleuropa* dream did not end with the defeat of the Central Powers. To Germans and Austrians, huddling together in common misery, "their century-old sense of common nationality, fortified by memories and emotions of the recent common struggle, became a pillar of confidence and hope." With almost twelve million Germans living outside the post-Versailles German borders in the various succession states, there now arose a new concept of *Gesamtdeutschum*, at first without any political aspirations but in time a valuable weapon in Hitler's ideological arsenal. The Nazis also made use of the genuine longing for an Austro-German *Anschluss*, which the victors had opposed. And finally, they transformed Germany's plans for *Grossraumwirtschaft*, born in the Great Depression, into their own version of mid-European conquest. But it would be mistaken, the author points out, to see a causal relationship between *Mitteleuropa* and Nazi ideology. It is rather that "both phenomena were stimulated by the same general forces in the German scene since 1914."

With the defeat of Hitler, the *Mitteleuropa* story also ends, at least temporarily. "A new *Mitteleuropa*," the author concludes, "is not just around the corner." Unfortunately, the book deals all too briefly with the second, Hitlerian phase of the story. But this does not detract from the excellence of the rest. One further criticism concerns the author's failure to use the extensive documentary materials on German policy during World War I which are now available on microfilm. But of this shortcoming he was himself aware, and he partly made up for it by interviewing many of the surviving adherents of the mid-European cause. The author, finally, supplies an admirable bibliographical essay, and the publisher deserves praise for producing an unusually attractive book.

Johns Hopkins University

HANS W. GATZKE

STORY OF A YEAR: 1848. By *Raymond Postgate*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. 286. \$4.50.)

It requires *sang-froid* to undertake a month-by-month account of the bewildering complexities which the year 1848 brought to lands stretching from the Danube to the Sacramento, but Raymond Postgate faces the task with literary grace and good humor. Overcoming the temptation to compress all the important developments of the "springtime of nations" into the narrow limits of some three hundred pages, he seeks rather to convey the flavor of those stirring days through a succession of vignettes drawn from the four corners of the globe

and depicting all strata of society. The effect is kaleidoscopic rather than panoramic, and yet the excitement of the narrative and the skill of the presentation overwhelm the critical sense. Here is historical writing of a high order.

Now we learn the gruesome details of the slave trade, now we encounter a quaintly humorous report of a sea serpent, now the Armenians of Tabriz are abducting girls from harems, now English butlers are romping with upstairs maids while the master is away. The author is most effective, however, when he tells of underprivileged men in search of social justice, of London Chartists plotting revolution or Parisian proletarians manning the barricades. This is where his heart lies, and in the description of the worker fighting against poverty there is a quality of compassion which compels sympathy. This is also where he is most original, displaying an authority which thirty years of concern with the social conditions of western Europe have bestowed.

He is less at home east of the Rhine, and here he must lean heavily on indifferent English and French accounts. The result is unhappy at times. The wit and the urbanity are still in evidence, but the recital becomes coy and frothy. Even more distressing, when he has to choose between being entertaining and being judicious, he cannot always resist the promptings of the devil. Frederick William IV, Ludwig I, Radetzky, Windischgrätz, Struve, Hecker, one after another they strut and posture on these pages like stock actors in some old-fashioned German operetta. It is perhaps too much to ask that full justice be done to each and every one of the heroes and villains of 1848. The revolution is still greater than its historians, and yet if Mr. Postgate has been cavalier with detail here and there, he has made up for it by capturing so successfully the ebullient spirit of a crucial year.

University of Illinois

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

LA PACE DI MILANO (6 AGOSTO 1849). By *Angelo Filipuzzi*. [Quaderni del Risorgimento, 7-8.] (Rome: Ateneo. 1955. Pp. 388. L. 2800.)

THIS monograph, based on full exploitation of the archival materials of Vienna and survey of the literature in Italian, German, French, and English is so exhaustive as to render future work on the topic nugatory. The narrative opens with Radetzky's negotiation of the armistice of Vignale following the battle of Novara. His hopes for immediate conclusion of peace without an indemnity were frustrated by Schwarzenberg and Bruck, who demanded a vindictive treaty and proposed to extract 220 million francs from vanquished Piedmont. After months of wrangling, of suspended negotiation, of occupation of the citadel of Alessandria by Austria, Bruck obtained 75 millions in August—decidedly an anticlimax after his harsh, initial criticisms of the fieldmarshal.

Adolfo Colombo's work (*Gli albori del regno di Vittorio Emanuele II* [Rome, 1937]) covers the materials from the Turin archives, and Filipuzzi relies heavily on it for the Piedmontese side of the negotiations. Schwarzenberg's diplomacy

toward the Kingdom of Sardinia is placed in proper setting: the developments in Hungary, Venice, Rome, and Tuscany are delineated as they affected the negotiations at Milan. The author's pains in acquainting himself with Austrian scholarship on the mid-nineteenth century—an experience for which his Italian education offered scant preparation as he candidly admits (p. 43 n.)—bear fruit in the picture of Radetzky. Traditionally depicted in Italian patriotic literature as the embodiment of wicked tyranny, the fieldmarshal emerges in this Italian work as a man of moderation and statesmanship, and it is an accurate portrayal, based on documentary evidence.

Much heat has been generated and some additional light has been shed on the armistice of Novara by Italian scholars since the reviewer's article on the subject ("The Armistice of Novara: A Legend of a Liberal King," *Journal of Modern History*, June, 1935). Antonio Monti, for one, attempted to revindicate the traditional version of a defense of the Piedmontese constitution by the young king (*La giovinezza di Vittorio Emanuele II 1820-1849* [Milan, 1939]). Like the reviewer, Filipuzzi found nothing in the Austrian records to support the traditional account: there was no defense of the Statuto and of constitutional government by Victor Emmanuel II at Vignale because they were not under attack by Radetzky. Filipuzzi gives but short shrift to Monti and his chiropractic methods.

The armistice, however, is not the whole story of the maintenance or survival of the constitution in Piedmont, a factor of primary importance in the Risorgimento. There were many threats against the continuance of constitutional government in Turin in 1849, and not the least was the irresponsible conduct of the Democrats. There was also a threat from Austria. The treaty of Milan with its indemnity of 75 millions barely achieved ratification by the Piedmontese parliament and then only after the king's proclamation of Moncalieri. Had Schwarzenberg been able to enforce his initial demands on the distraught kingdom, it would have wrung the death knell of the Statuto. The implications of Schwarzenberg's policy for the domestic problems of Piedmont deserve more attention by Filipuzzi.

German War Documents Project,
Buckinghamshire, England

HOWARD McGAW SMYTH

RUSSLAND UND DER MESSIANISMUS DES ORIENTS: SENDUNGS-
BEWUSSTSEIN UND POLITISCHER CHILIASMUS DES OSTENS.
By *Emanuel Sarkisyanz*. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 1955. Pp. xii, 419. Cloth
DM 29.60, paper DM 26.)

IN the first part of his book Dr. Sarkisyanz analyzes the millenarian expectations dominating Russian thought. Leninism absorbed and distorted these expectations, preserving their traditional anti-Western character and their intentionally universal appeal. This theory is not new; it has been advanced by Russian thinkers like Nikolai Berdyaev and Simon Frank, and has been often treated, but Dr. Sarkisyanz supports it in an interesting way and documents it from an

unusually wide reading in Russian sources. He has especially used, to very good purpose, the poets of the first years of the revolution—Alexander Blok, Sergei Esenin, Nikolai Klyuev—to illustrate the Russian mind in the early twentieth century. Perhaps Dr. Sarkisyanz has put too little emphasis on the powerful currents of Westernized thought in Russia after the middle of the nineteenth century. In his analysis Europe's presence in Russia is played down and as a result the victory of Leninist extremism and messianism appears as more inevitable than it really was. But this flaw is inherent in Dr. Sarkisyanz' emphasis, to which we owe the richest documentation of the Russian background of Lenin's revolution which this reviewer has come across; the book deserves the serious attention of students of Russian intellectual history.

Its second part, presenting Islamic, Indian, Burmese, and Lamaistic thought and movements, not easily available to the nonspecialist, is even more valuable. It illustrates an Asian messianism and political millenarianism similar to that of Russia. It helps to explain Communist Russia's fascination for Asia. Lenin's revolution represented not only a break with a century of Westernization of Russian intellectual and moral life; it was not only a continuation of older anti-Western traditions; it went far beyond them. For anti-Western Russia had always looked westward. The central problem stirring it was the confrontation of Russia with Europe. Lenin's revolution was the first great Russian movement which not only turned against the West but turned definitely toward Asia. Even the Slavophiles, though they opposed the West, saw Russia as part of Europe; to them it was not the West but Russia which promised the true fulfillment of an idea common to both. Only Lenin's revolution broke with Hegel's scheme of world history—which the Slavophiles accepted while substituting the Russians for the Germans—and with Marx's concept of the historical role of economically backward countries.

The Russian autocracy and the universal concept of world empire which forms the political basis of all great Asian civilizations had not only the millenarianism in common but also the charismatic personality of the ruler as the link between the empirical reality and the ideal state of world order. Stalin was, so far, the last embodiment of this role in Russian history. But Stalin's Russian nationalist super-imperialism, though it has strengthened Russia's political position in Asia, has diminished the appeal which Lenin's communism carried there. In 1917 Russian millenarianism was an anachronism in its relation to the West; it was not an anachronism in its relation to Asia. Dr. Sarkisyanz sees Leninism gaining its strength originally from its traditional Russian sources and at the same time bringing about their desiccation by Russia's transformation into a "bourgeois" society. He quotes Fedor Stepun's words of 1929: "Out of the chaos of the revolution emerges the modern genuine bourgeois, the builder of the new Russian life who is efficient and strong willed, lacks imagination and hates ideas." Though this observation is, in the reviewer's opinion, correct, it would be a mistake to deduce from it a Westernization of Russia. For the West, though it includes this

somewhat romantically overdrawn type of bourgeois too, is in its humanitarian and liberal fundamental concepts and way of life infinitely more than the happy climbing ground for the successful businessman or manager. Unfortunately many Russians and Asians have inclined toward this mistaken identification of the "bourgeois" with the spiritual vitality and the liberal ethos of the West. Dr. Sarkisyanz rightly points out that today Asia too is becoming "bourgeois," but that does not imply that it is necessarily becoming more receptive to modern Western thought.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

THE RUSSIAN MARXISTS AND THE ORIGINS OF BOLSHEVISM. By Leopold H. Haimson. [Russian Research Center Studies, 19.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1955. Pp. x, 246. \$5.50.)

IN this thoughtful study, Dr. Haimson undertakes the difficult but vital historical task of determining how certain key figures in the Russian Marxian movement—Plekhanov, Axelrod, Martov, and Lenin—were molded by their environment and experience and in turn shaped the development of Russian Marxism, and Russian history itself. These men are seen as legatees of earlier generations of the intelligentsia, central to whose outlook was a sense of alienation from the whole pattern of social relationships of contemporary Russia and a flaming desire to alter them radically. In its struggle, the intelligentsia evinced polar modes of thought and action: self-confident drives to refashion the world after a rational image lodged in its consciousness alternated with wishes to fuse with the masses, which it then conceived as the "life-giving" spontaneous force that determined the course of history by its instinctive strivings.

Having psychoanalyzed the Russian intelligentsia, Haimson does the same for the four leaders in an effort to discover differences in their psychical constitutions, these latter considered each as a distinctive prism through which Marxism necessarily filtered in varying forms. In particular, he stresses the different shades of meaning and significance attached by each to the concepts of spontaneity and consciousness. If not always convincing, these exercises are invariably interesting and, occasionally, as in the analysis of Lenin's personal experience as a force shaping his attitude toward spontaneity (pp. 139-41), the performance is brilliant. In its further development, the study emphasizes that these differences were long hidden or muted, until the early years of the twentieth century when, with the edifice of absolutism seemingly at the point of collapse, the divergences came into the open, and their implications were gradually grasped. The end result was the cleavage of the Marxian RSDLP into the elitist Bolshevik element and the mass-spontaneity-oriented Mensheviks.

Although this is plainly an important and immensely suggestive book, it is not faultless. Preoccupation with depth psychology has sometimes led the author to slight or overlook objective factors in Russia such as those, for example, which

undoubtedly influenced Lenin's proposals on party organization. He frequently takes as characteristic of a given figure and his psychical makeup ideas and conceptions which were in fact shared by one or more of the others. Thus Axelrod, who is placed at the farthest pole from Lenin, is quoted as favoring the "utilization" of the liberals (p. 158), a notion earlier advanced as typically Leninist. Plekhanov is alleged to have viewed "economism" as a mental aberration; but in fact (cf. *Vademecum dlia redaktsii "Rabochego Dela"*) he identified it as an agency for bringing the proletariat under bourgeois-liberal tutelage, a position Haimson describes as distinctly Martovian. He regards as characteristic Lenin's tactics to ensure an *Iskra* majority at the Second Party Congress, but Martov's letters clearly show he condoned such tactics if, indeed, he was not intimately involved in them. Space limitations prevent the discussion of many another such case which must weaken the central argument but does not, in the opinion of the reviewer, invalidate it. There are numerous other matters in the history of Russian Marxism that receive perceptive and illuminating treatment here. Unfortunately, there are also a fair number of factual errors and some cases of poor translation from the Russian.

Grinnell University

S. H. BARON

GESCHICHTE DES BOLSCHEWISTISCHEN RUSSLAND. By *Georg von Rauch*. (Wiesbaden: Rheinische Verlags-Anstalt. 1955. Pp. 607. DM 21.80.)

THE appearance of such a good history of the Bolshevik regime in German as this one is most welcome. Von Rauch's work is further evidence of the impressive revival of Russian studies which has taken place in recent years in Germany. Well known for his specialized studies of Soviet historiography, Professor von Rauch has now produced a good, clear, simple, and readable general account of the history of the Soviet Union, beginning with a discussion of the "awakening of political thought in Russia" and ending with the fall of Malenkov from state leadership.

In its orientation and ideological framework this is a distinctively "Western" book. On the other hand, the author is not ethnocentrically anti-Russian. His attitude toward the historical alternatives available to the Russian people and toward the Russian and Marxist elements in Bolshevism bears many resemblances to the views of such writers as George F. Kennan. But this is no mere translation of Kennan into German. Von Rauch has read widely in such Russian thinkers as Berdyaev and has mined the work of other German scholars such as the indefatigable Boris Meissner. He is not uncritical of Western policy and he warns the West not to lose the political initiative.

In form and content this is a well-balanced study. The approach is primarily chronological, but a topical organization is employed in order to provide an analytical framework. Political, economic, social, and intellectual history all receive adequate attention. In terms of coherence and style the result is also good.

Despite its many good qualities, the work adds little or nothing to basic knowledge of Soviet history. It represents, rather, a good synthesis of the recent monographic literature. Some of the German sources used, as well as some of the numerous Soviet refugee sources, may be new to many American readers. However, many important American works, including some of the important recent studies by Merle Fainsod, Barrington Moore, Philip E. Mosely, and several other authorities are not mentioned in the footnotes or in the short bibliography.

This book should be very valuable to German readers as a relatively compact and objective presentation of a vast mass of material. Americans who read German will also find it rewarding for its sweep and drive and for its happy blend of factual summary and rather unacademic facility of expression. Some of the best features of the book are derived from the author's awareness of the close interrelationship between ideas, institutions, and policies. The treatment of ideological factors is unusually good for a work of this kind. Because he has a sound understanding of ideological factors, von Rauch approaches matters of high policy with understanding. His appraisal of late-Stalin and post-Stalin developments seems to be standing up very well.

There are some very useful maps and tables, but the work is marred somewhat by numerous minor errors in spelling and other formal details. To sum up, this is a book for the general reader rather than the specialist. As such, its value will be mainly for German readers, although all who teach courses on Soviet history or politics will find it worth their while to scan it for occasional bits of information and, perhaps more profitably, for hints on synthesis and presentation of the rather intractable material with which Soviet specialists must work.

Yale University

FREDERICK C. BARGHOORN

RUSSIA AND THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC. By *Lionel Kochan*. (Cambridge, Eng.: Bowes and Bowes; New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1954. Pp. x, 190. \$4.25.)

FEW treaties between two modern states have aroused quite so much conjecture as the Rapallo Treaty of 1922. Indeed it has become a veritable myth. The true nature of the treaty is often beclouded even by historians by the associations which it inevitably evokes, for instance the Convention of Tauroggen of 1812 or the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939. Rapallo thus emerges more as a sinister conspiracy than a hard-headed bargain. Although the final word, if any, on German-Russian relations during the Weimar Republic will have to await the day when the records of the German Foreign Office of that period are opened up to private research, within the past decade there have appeared a great many studies that try to throw light on Rapallo. One of these is Mr. Lionel Kochan's book, which steers us ably through the complex and shifting relationships between what Lloyd George called the "two pariahs of Europe." Rapallo and the so-called "Rapallo-policy" were based upon a strange love-hate relationship between the two coun-

tries. This ambivalence was particularly evident in 1923 when Russia, while maintaining correct diplomatic relations with Germany based on the 1922 treaty, furthered revolution in that country. On the German side this uneasy relationship was marked by Germany's matching Rapallo with a rapprochement with the West, namely, by the signing of the Dawes Plan and the Locarno Pact and by her entry into the League of Nations. Although Stresemann had good reason to doubt the sincerity of the Russian policy, and although Chicherin saw fit to charge the German policy with "a going to Canossa," such sentiments did not prevent the conclusion in April, 1926, of the Berlin Treaty, which marked the height of German-Russian relations.

In a study of this nature it is imperative to analyze the formation of foreign policy in the two respective countries. This Mr. Kochan does successfully in connection with Russia. He discusses ably the roles of the Politburo, the Narkomindel, and the Comintern. (On this subject a more comprehensive study has appeared by Theodore H. von Laue.) It is when he turns to Germany that Mr. Kochan is weak. His thesis that the Rapallo Treaty, while it was for Russia a defensive measure to gain a *point d'appui* among the capitalist powers, was for Germany a "weapon of attack" (p. 59; cf. p. viii) remains unsubstantiated; it merely adds to the Rapallo myth. It has been demonstrated meanwhile that Stresemann as the *spiritus rector* of the Rapallo policy between 1923 and 1929 was aiming primarily at economic co-operation between the two powers (Hans W. Gatzke). Mr. Kochan might have stressed that the military co-operation between Germany and Russia was, as far as we know, concerned with technical matters rather than with questions of strategy (cf. Helm Speidel). Moreover, there is a positive aspect to Rapallo which Mr. Kochan altogether ignores, namely, Rapallo as an attempt to establish a pattern of normal relations—or peaceful "coexistence"—between two countries with different socio-economic systems and ideological positions.

The main handicap of the work is that it was evidently written before some vital documents, the Seeckt and Stresemann papers, were made available to the public. Hans W. Gatzke's various studies on Stresemann therefore constitute a corrective to Mr. Kochan's book. Furthermore, the author has written without the benefit of contributions made by Helm Speidel, Gustav Hilger and Alfred G. Meyer, and Edward Hallett Carr. A few mistakes and misinterpretations are disturbing. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* was not the "Nationalist organ" (p. 95). Seeckt's attitude toward the Kapp Putsch was not determined by the anti-Russian position of the Kapp generals (p. 27). Neither can the shooting of Schleicher be explained as "the consequence of a quarrel with Hitler over Rapallo" (p. 174) nor by any stretch of imagination can Roehm be identified with an "Eastern policy" (p. 174 n.). Indeed, in talking in terms of an "armed uprising" of Roehm and his supporters, the author unwittingly takes over a Hitler-fabricated myth.

On the whole, however, Mr. Kochan has written a comprehensive work of scholarship: although new documents may further revise our picture of German-

Russian relations during the Weimar Republic, his book will remain a standard and informative one.

Smith College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

OBIEKTYWNY CHARAKTER PRAW HISTORII. Z ZAGADNIEŃ MARKSISTOWSKIEJ METODOLOGII HISTORIOGRAFII [The Objective Character of the Laws of History: Problems of Marxist Methodology of Historiography]. By *Adam Schaff*. (Warsaw: Polish Academy of Sciences, Department of Social Sciences; State Scientific Publications. 1955. Pp. 412.)

LA POLOGNE AU X^e CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES SCIENCES HISTORIQUES À ROME. (Warsaw: Académie polonaise des sciences, Institut d'histoire. 1955. Pp. 402.)

THE first of these two books, published in Polish, is a key to an understanding of the other, which appeared five months later. The typescript of Mr. Schaff's guide to writing history was twice discussed in an institute of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party before it was printed as some kind of instruction for the historians of People's Poland in general and more particularly for the thirteen of them, including non-Communists, who were permitted to prepare papers for the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences.

Half of that instruction is a severe criticism of bourgeois historiography, both of foreign scholars, including Toynbee as enemy number one, and of Poles, chiefly of the latest generation. To all of them, four masters are opposed as shining examples to follow: Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Mr. Schaff's worship of these greatest historians of all times is in striking contrast with his repeated warnings against any hero-worship which would overrate the role of the individual. But this is not the only contradiction in his theory. The laws of history are objective: the study of history must not be objective but partisan. However, if it is partisan from the bourgeois point of view, the results must be all wrong: only if it is partisan from the point of view of the proletariat will the past be correctly understood, and even future developments can be anticipated, especially the inescapable fall of capitalism and victory of communism. If bourgeois historians deny the existence of the laws of history, they are of course guilty of unscientific "idiography." But if they admit the existence of such laws, they are wrong too, because their laws are nothing but "idealistic mystifications."

The authors of the French volume, which was offered to the Rome Congress at its inaugural meeting, have tried hard to conform to these rules, whether they liked them or not. They quote Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin, whenever possible. In their collective survey of the basic problems of Polish history they carefully avoid not only any worship but even any praise of kings or national heroes. They evidence in the course of that history the determining impact of socio-economic factors and the orthodox succession of feudalism, capitalism, and

socialism. Nevertheless, since most of the thirteen are scholars of distinction, well trained in semifeudal and semicapitalistic Poland, or rather the free Poland of the prewar period, much valuable material is included in almost all their papers. Only W. Kula's essay on the "alliance between bourgeoisie and landowners" in the first half of the nineteenth century is simply communist propaganda, and in L. Grosfeld's article on Poland's place in Germany's imperialistic plans during World War I the slanderous treatment of all Polish groups and parties, except the insignificant nucleus of a Communist party, is really a disgrace.

Particularly instructive is the case of B. Leśnodorski, who contributed the two largest chapters, almost one fourth of the whole volume. His report on the development of Polish historiography since 1945, one of the few papers which could be read and discussed at the Congress, is practically an enthusiastic account of the gradual sovietization of that historiography, rich in information but eminently unfair to all Polish scholars who did not follow the party line. His study of Poland's intellectual history at the time of the Enlightenment, based on original research, deserves the serious attention even of those who completely disagree with his interpretation of the formation of modern Polish society at that time. Unfortunately, in this case as in all others, only a reader who is familiar with the achievements of free Polish historiography, past and present, will be able to distinguish between positive, scholarly additions to our knowledge and biased distortions for which not the individual writer but rather the system imposed by Soviet Russia is truly responsible.

A detailed discussion of all fourteen papers of the French volume, as well as a survey of the contributions of free Polish scholarship submitted to the Rome Congress and printed in Volume II of *Antemurale* (Rome, 1955) can be found in an article by the present reviewer, "Poland at the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences" published in the *Polish Review*, 1956.

Fordham University

O. HALECKI

Far Eastern History

THE UNITED STATES AND ASIA. By *Lawrence H. Battistini*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1956. Pp. xii, 370. \$5.00.)

THIS small volume surveying a vast subject on which there has been acrimonious debate in this country in recent years is an effort to present a vital phase of contemporary history. It is addressed to "the general reader and the student seeking an introductory approach." Of the 328 pages of text, 208 are devoted to the years since 1931. The earlier chapters present a brief and sketchy account of American interests, contacts, and policy toward the Far East throughout the nineteenth and the first three decades of the twentieth century. These are the least satisfactory chapters of the book, for nineteenth-century American policy was not quite so capsulized as it is here suggested to be. The prime significance of Web-

ster's policy in the early 1840's is missed, and the principle of China's territorial and administrative entity was by no means so important as one would gather from this narrative. Nor is there adequate treatment of the intellectual vacuum between what nineteenth-century China thought of the United States as against what Americans believed these Chinese ideas to be. There is a point beyond which condensation ceases to be useful.

The author is more at home in his presentation of the recent and contemporary scene. While much of this story is far too close for the requirements of definitive history, it is presented here with a fine clarity of style and a nice discrimination in the selection of material. The scope of the subject treated is suggested by the successive chapters: "The Rape of Manchuria," "The Sino-Japanese Undeclared War," "World War II and the Pacific," "Japan under Occupation," "Militant Red China," "The Korean Tragedy," "Independent India and Pakistan," "Southeast Asia," and "Independence in Indonesia and the Philippines." As a brief factual account, these chapters provide an excellent introduction and review of American policy.

Finally, it should be said that this study is not simply a factual catalogue. Mr. Battistini believes that the events he describes have meaning and that for one reason or another an uncomfortable number of Americans are unaware of these meanings or have chosen to disregard them. His challenging interpretations, few of which are new but many of which are still very unpalatable to the conventional and orthodox American mind, are ably presented in the text and in an eloquent epilogue. The book deserves a large audience.

Duke University

PAUL H. CLYDE

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1939. Third Series, Volume VIII, 1938-39. Volume IX, 1939. Edited by *E. L. Woodward* and *Rohan Butler*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1955. Pp. lxxxiv, 560; lxxxiii, 539. \$9.00 each.)

THESE two volumes of documents deal with British policy in the Far East from August 4, 1938, through September 5, 1939. They conclude (with the exception of an index volume) the third series of Foreign Office papers for the years between the two world wars—the series which begins with the German invasion of Austria in March, 1938. These are the only volumes yet in print in all three series which are concerned with the Far East. Hence the material seems to lack historical setting. It is consistent, however, with the editors' concern about the public's early understanding of the immediate prewar policy of the British government that the later documents should appear first. They are a most welcome supplement to the scanty material on China and Japan which has been available in the concurrent *British and Foreign State Papers* and the *Sessional Papers* of parliament.

In assembling the three series the editors have had "access to all the papers in the Foreign Office Archives, and freedom in the selection and arrangement of documents." Their aim, as defined by Professor Woodward before the British Academy in 1950, was to provide "a full selection [of material] on all matters of importance." The collections, however, do not purport to be "more than a statement of British policy and a record of its execution by the Foreign Office and diplomatic missions." Students of the Foreign Office documents for earlier periods will miss the inclusion here of papers which would no doubt help to explain the formulation of policy—especially the private letters of British ministers in China and Japan to the Foreign Secretary, most of the Foreign Office minutes, and the interdepartmental correspondence in London. In justification, Professor Woodward has explained the editors' desire to protect civil servants still in office, and the need to conserve space. For the latter reason, also, they have omitted documents which would make the history here more complete but which have been published elsewhere.

The papers are arranged chronologically within chapters devoted to specific topics. A digest of the documents included in each volume is a great convenience. Excellent editing makes clear the relation of the documents to each other and to those in preceding volumes. References to omitted papers are explained. Professor Woodward adds his own interpretation of British policy in the Far East at this period to his preface to Volume VIII.

These documents point up the interaction of Eastern and Western politics during the thirteen months which culminated in World War II. Britain had never minimized the threat both to her own vast interests in China and to China's independence which was inherent in Japan's New Order in East Asia. Her resistance, however, to Japan's encroachments was dependent upon her own involvement in the worsening European situation, the progress of her rearmament program, and the attitude of the United States, then restricted by the Neutrality Act. Britain was the object of Japan's greatest hatred in 1939. Her lead, Japan expected, would be followed by the other democracies. While she played for time and dealt with local incidents as they arose, she had to try to prevent a declaration of war by Japan and keep the Chinese from losing hope in spite of the limited economic aid she could give them. Even in the face of Japan's achievements in 1938, the British ministers in the Far East all had greater faith in China's continued powers of resistance than in Japan's total victory.

Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939 will be, when completed, a monumental publication, essential for the study of international relations during this twenty-year period. To date there have appeared five volumes of the First Series, four volumes of the Second Series, and nine volumes of the Third Series. It is regrettable, whatever the reason may be, that these volumes have not received in this country the attention they deserve.

American University

GRACE FOX

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1939-1946. Edited by *Arnold Toynbee*. THE FAR EAST, 1942-1946. By *F. C. Jones, Hugh Borton, and B. R. Pearn*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xiv, 589. \$14.00.)

AFTER Pearl Harbor Japan occupied the Philippines, Guam, Hong Kong, Siam, British Malaya, Burma, and the Dutch East Indies, which areas, combined with those already held by Japanese armies, constituted the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Although the peoples thus liberated from white domination had no taste for Japanese rule and, as events proved, no permanent security in Japanese military power and diplomacy, in their resistance to subsequent attempts of the Western Powers to restore the prewar status quo they reflected the not inconsiderable degree of political consciousness fostered in them by the Japanese. China ultimately succumbed to communism because of exhaustion and enfeeblement from her long struggle with Japan and also because American insistence on treating that country as a member of the Big Four in world affairs but as a satellite or virtual dependency in political and military matters had the effect of discrediting Chiang Kai-shek at home. The overconfident Japanese of 1942 were under Allied occupation a scant three years later, receiving from MacArthur "the leadership and also the hope they so desperately needed in their hour of confusion and despair." (A fourth of the narrative and twenty-one of the twenty-nine documents reproduced in the eighty-one-page appendixes deal with Japan's surrender to and occupation by the Allied Powers, 1945-1947). The terms of the Cairo Agreement to make Korea free and independent did not prevent that ancient people from being divided into two military, economic, and political units, with tragic consequences. The Japanese mandated islands and certain other Japanese islands were placed under United Nations trusteeship in 1947 with the United States as the administering authority. Today's important developments on the Far Eastern economic and political front are but the sequel to the story told in this comprehensive and impressive book.

Editor Toynbee's assertion in his brief introduction that the Far Eastern theater during the period of review "was the scene of events that were more shattering and more portentous than even the most sensational of the contemporary events in the European theatre" refers to the overthrow of (1) the Western imperial powers' reputation for invincibility, (2) Japan's belief in her divinely appointed imperial destiny, and (3) mankind's illusion that war could be kept on its traditional footing of limited liability. In relation to the last point, he adds a note to the table of contents explaining three world maps inserted at the end of the volume. The object of the maps is to visualize the three fronts on which each of the two surviving power-groups now threatens the other. Before 1940 no power was ever threatened on more than two fronts.

Washington, D. C.

JUSTIN WILLIAMS

THE NEW JAPAN: GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS. By *Harold S. Quigley* and *John E. Turner*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 456. \$5.00.)

THIS book will be most welcome to teachers and students of Japan who have heretofore found it necessary to roam far and wide in periodical literature to piece together a coherent picture of the over-all structure and operation of the postwar Japanese government. The authors have utilized foundation documents, several of which are reproduced in the appendixes, SCAP and Japanese government reports (especially Diet records), Japanese press (chiefly *Nippon Times*), and the many excellent, though specialized and scattered, periodical articles which have appeared in the last ten years to lay out in detail the framework of government, including political parties, and to trace postwar political trends. They have done this very successfully. They have also included a seventy-seven-page introductory resume of Japan's prewar and wartime political condition. This seemed to the reviewer less successful.

Concerning the "less successful" portion, it should perhaps be said that pre-1945 Japan is now history, no longer political science. For the researcher it is history in the best sense; the documents are full, open, and available, and the passions of the time are burned out. Therefore to explain the structure of political groups is no longer sufficient; one must tackle functional relationships, and that leads into the economic, social, and ideological morass. The authors are not unaware of this. They do probe beneath the structure but at times with insufficient perspicacity—e.g., it is not merely the Yamagatas, Tanakas, and Tojos who led the nation to disaster (p. 12); liberals like Ozaki Yukio helped out in 1894, and Tanaka tried to stem the tide in 1928. The problem of Japanese ultranationalism is a very complex one, which scholars like Masao Maruyama, Delmer Brown, and Marius Jansen are beginning to solve, but their work is not reflected here.

Concerning the "very successful" portion, which comprises the rest of the book, this historian can only stand off and take a lesson in the handling of a contemporary political setting from professors of political science. Where they cannot solve a problem, they dissect and structure it. Where they cannot answer them, they ask the relevant questions. The most critical perhaps is this: are Japan's statesmen willing to uphold popular sovereignty, on which the new constitution is based? In one of the most interesting sections of the book the authors show how they ducked that question at the time the constitution was endorsed. Tendencies away from local autonomy, a little-used jury system, "pseudo" habeas corpus, courts functioning at "glacial speed" are also observed as contributing to a retreat from democratic principles. But the authors wisely leave the study as a picture of political Japan, not a prediction.

University of Pennsylvania

HILARY CONROY

American History

YANKEES AND CREOLES: THE TRADE BETWEEN NORTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES BEFORE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

By *Richard Pares*, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. vii, 168. \$4.75.)

IN offering this book to the public, Mr. Pares, distinguished editor of the *English Historical Review*, expresses surprise that a subject so important in American history has not been dealt with by an American historian. Historians on this side of the Atlantic have not been unaware of the need for a comprehensive study of the West India trade of the American colonies, but, too conscious of local differences and too discouraged by the paucity of data for quantitative analyses, they have chosen to approach the subject from the ground up, treating it in its relation to the economic life of a single port or to the activities of a merchant family.

Mr. Pares's book surveys the West India trade as conducted by the leading merchants of Boston, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia. Modest in size, it is broad in scope and packed with detail. Nowhere else can one find the metes and bounds of the entire subject so precisely set forth, the general features so clearly described, and the prominent landmarks so accurately plotted. In this sense it is a definitive work. The emphasis is almost evenly divided between the people who carried on the trade and the goods in which they dealt. In both areas the book offers rewards to fit a variety of tastes. The data presented by Mr. Pares on price trends in the West Indies and his treatment of the interrelationship of planters, merchants, and shipmasters are of particular interest. A final chapter on the place of the West India trade in the North American economy places the subject in perspective. The West India trade, Mr. Pares points out, made an important, but obscure, contribution to the formation of capital and played an "incidental," but more easily identified, role as a lubricant that served to keep the wheels of American commerce moving in all directions. Referring specifically to the smaller West India merchants, but in words that apply equally well to all, Mr. Pares has this to say: "They were jacks of all trades, and few of them kept accounts which show distinctly the profits from any one branch of trade or the uses to which those profits were put. We must be satisfied with the knowledge that more North American shipping was employed in this trade than in any other, that every North American port and nearly every North American merchant had something to do with it." Nowhere else are the difficulties of the subject better indicated than in these last sentences of Mr. Pares's book.

Alexandria, Virginia

BYRON FAIRCHILD

EDMUND BURKE, NEW YORK AGENT, WITH HIS LETTERS TO THE
NEW YORK ASSEMBLY AND INTIMATE CORRESPONDENCE

WITH CHARLES O'HARA, 1761-1776. By *Ross J. S. Hoffman*, Professor of History, Fordham University. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XLI.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1956. Pp. ix, 632. \$6.50.)

SINCE the Burke papers became accessible in 1949, they have furnished material for many scholarly publications. Professor Hoffman's is the most ambitious work drawn from this rich manuscript collection yet to appear. It consists of two parts. The first describes Burke's agency for New York from 1771 to 1775. The second reproduces the Burke-Charles O'Hara correspondence.

The study of Burke as New York agent is the best treatment that we have of a particular colonial agent. Students of American history will find it useful. Beyond that, the reader obtains a fresh, concise view of Burke's role in the imperial controversy because Professor Hoffman describes the agency against the background of Burke's earlier political experiences, the development of his thought on the American problem, and the course of New York politics in the decade before 1775. This discussion is followed by eighty-five pages of letters, private and official, from the letterbook in which the original drafts of Burke's correspondence with New York have been preserved. Because Professor Hoffman thoroughly exploited these letters in writing his essay, they become an appendix for one who reads the essay first.

The Burke-O'Hara correspondence makes well-integrated reading for a collection of letters. O'Hara (d. 1776), an Irish landowner and M.P., though unknown to earlier biographers of Burke, is revealed in these letters as an intimate, perhaps for the seventeen years before his death the most intimate, friend of Burke and his family. O'Hara's letters were among the Burke papers deposited in 1949 in the Sheffield Central Library; Burke's letters were preserved by O'Hara's descendants at Annaghmore in County Sligo. Professor Hoffman has neatly woven them together, choosing to omit some of O'Hara's letters. The collection is valuable because it contains new information about Burke's private and political life from 1761 to 1776 and because to his Irish friend Burke wrote unusually confidentially, exposing himself unwittingly to readers who, nearly two hundred years later, can see a Burke that few of his contemporaries knew. The editing is inconsistent on matters of identification and explanation, but not to the point of aggravation. I approve of Professor Hoffman's decision not to over-edit the letters. Whatever his reasons were, two suggest themselves. The book will be read mainly by persons familiar with the period, and they will be grateful to a modest editor who thought it best not to intrude himself between them and the men who wrote so interestingly about politics, farming, moods, and people.

University of Kentucky

CARL B. CONE

THE BIRTH OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS, 1776-1791. By *Robert Allen Rutland*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg. 1955. Pp. vi, 243. \$5.00.)

"WE seem to have been treading upon enchanted ground," wrote George Mason, as he recalled the exciting days of 1776 when he and his colleagues had fashioned the Virginia Declaration of Rights. It was an American, and before that an English habit, this raising of parchment barricades to protect the freedoms of the individual. Over the fifteen years that followed, similar ramparts went up around these personal rights in the other states. Finally, in 1791, though many influential Americans considered further safeguards unnecessary, possibly even mischievous, a federal bastion was raised to safeguard these liberties—the first ten amendments to the newly ratified Constitution.

This is the story Mr. Rutland tells. In its outlines it is familiar enough, though no one has hitherto told it so lucidly, so compactly, so attractively. His book is soundly based on the debates in constitutional conventions, the letters and more formal writings of the constitution-makers, and an extensive monographic literature. There are no surprises, no discoveries, no "revisions" (do I hear someone saying "Thank Heaven for that"?). But it was a job worth doing and Mr. Rutland has done it well.

After a swift review of the English precedents and the colonial achievements in this area, he devotes a chapter to Mason's seminal document in Virginia, then shows how the other states fell in line. He traces clearly the interrelations among the state bills of rights and shows how the great Virginia Declaration hovered before them all, providing a pattern and example. He points out how through the Northwest Ordinance, the first "federal" bill of rights, that pattern was to exert its influence over all the later states. He reviews the court procedures of the period and concludes that, in general, "state tribunals were . . . inclined to give accused persons the full benefit of provisions in the bills of rights."

Coming to the great debates in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, he presents George Mason playing his characteristic role as watchdog of civil liberty and finally leaving Philadelphia "in an exceeding ill humor indeed" (so Madison wrote Jefferson) because the Convention, preoccupied with granting power to the federal government, had neglected to set up specific safeguards against the abuse of that power. In an excellent chapter on "The Ratification Struggle" he underscores the crucial work of libertarians like Mason and Richard Henry Lee who insisted stubbornly on extensions of the "new roof," annexes to cover the precious rights of persons. His chapter on "The Campaign Pledge Fulfilled" focuses on the statesmanlike contribution of James Madison in steering the promised amendments through the First Congress.

It is not quite clear from Mr. Rutland's brief final chapter, "Since 1791," whether he believes the Bill of Rights has fulfilled all of George Mason's hopes or whether he would agree with Professor Arthur Ekirch that there has been a steady attrition of individual freedom in the United States since the end of the eighteenth century. But he does point out how the Supreme Court, vindicating a striking prophecy of Thomas Jefferson, has recently manned the paper barricades and extended their protection to rights the founding fathers scarcely dreamed of.

In considerable measure the ground George Mason marked out in 1776 is still enchanted ground.

Swarthmore College

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS AND THE UNION. By *Samuel Flagg Bemis*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Pp. xv, 546, xix. \$8.75.)

JOHN Quincy Adams was an anomaly in American public life. A scholarly, truculent, suspicious little man, he despised the ways of politics yet let the politicians make him President. At a time when sectionalism was dominant, he thought in terms of a national interest that transcended internal differences. In an age of compromise, he remained inflexible. He came to the Presidency better equipped by training and experience than any man before or since his time but allowed his idealistic program to collapse because he would not deal with political realities. Then, at the age of sixty-three, Adams entered the House of Representatives, where he finally achieved the true greatness that was in him. The present work completes a two-volume life of the sixth President that ranks with the best in American biographical literature. Making free use of the Adams papers, long unavailable to scholars, it is at once a source for political and diplomatic history, a critique of an age, and a penetrating psychological study of a complex and compulsive personality.

The semitopical treatment Professor Bemis has adopted, following the pattern of his earlier volume, does not lend itself to a strictly chronological division of material. The first volume, centering on Adams' contributions to American foreign policy, carried forward through diplomatic aspects of the Presidency, and to some extent even into the period of the second career. The present volume, dealing with John Quincy Adams and the Union, thus overlaps the first. The inconclusive presidential campaign of 1824, and Adams' activities as President, receive fuller and more rounded treatment here. The dickering that led to Adams' election by the House, the so-called "corrupt bargain" with Clay, and the trials of a minority President are discussed with fairness and restraint. Throughout this period, Adams would have appeared to his contemporaries, could they have read his diary, as the complete hypocrite; but Bemis supplies the humility Adams lacked and puts the whole into a perspective that permits the truly great qualities of the man to rise above the pettiness of his daily jottings.

Bemis is at his best in the chapters dealing with the antislavery crusade, with the long battle for the right of petition, and with the defense of the *Armistad* captives; but it was here that Adams himself was at his best. His own rigidity and political ineptitude doomed his administration to failure and made his eager but overcautious dealings with the Antimasons in 1832 almost farcical. In many ways more European than American, Adams never really came to grips with the conflicting interests of North, West, and South, and so in executive office he never quite became the "Man of the Whole Nation" he conceived himself to be. In

the House of Representatives, he acknowledged responsibility to no party or clique but only to his conscience. There his deep moral fervor, his "compulsive genius for political contention," his vast learning, the constantly whetted keenness of his mind, and the undiluted vitriol of his tongue made him one of the most feared debaters in congressional history—a fierce, unyielding champion of human freedom who could not be frightened, or coerced, or silenced.

Professor Bemis has given life and reality to his characters by reproducing excerpts from diaries and letters in the form of conversation. The dialogue thus created is, as he concedes, a little stilted, yet it has the ring of authenticity and it adds immeasurably to the readability of his book. So, too, does the revealing picture of an often less than happy domestic life. There are warm touches in his treatment of Adams' forbearance toward the neurotic Louisa, his enthusiasm for horticulture and astronomy, his reverence for his aged father, and his unending patience with his sons, who were never allowed to forget the Adams destiny.

Professor Bemis modestly dedicates his work to "future biographers of John Quincy Adams," but it will be many a year before anyone improves on the admirable job Bemis himself has done.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES M. WILTSE

CULTURE ON THE MOVING FRONTIER. By *Louis B. Wright*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1955. Pp. 273. \$3.50.)

THE six chapters in this book were delivered as the Patten Foundation Lectures in Indiana University. As might be expected in lectures of this sort, the author has examined central ideas in at least six areas of the moving frontier. So far as there is a central thesis it is that the fundamental qualities of our American culture were inherited from the British. To establish this thesis, Dr. Wright pursues the belief that, despite our diverse background origins as a national people, we have remained remarkably homogeneous in culture. The definition of culture in this sense is largely a matter of patterns of society.

Although the patterns of society have changed with each successive forward movement on the frontier, the fundamental basis of culture has remained intact. Two major struggles have occurred in the spread of American culture through a succession of frontiers. These have been a fight against evil, and a fight against ignorance. The fight against evil was conducted by various methods, but the objective was the same whether it be in a new England atmosphere of puritanism, a Kentucky backwoods camp meeting, or a religious missionary effort in the sinful gold camps. Possibly the recurring religious awakenings were more than battles against sin; they were continuing attacks on barbarism itself.

Frontiersmen backed onto the frontier so far as culture was concerned. Old World institutions had a profound hold on those who broke trail. Dr. Wright's implied contention is that, without this strong British cultural impulse, the white

man might have developed a different and much more diverse civilization once he found himself isolated in the western woods.

The sectarian tradition of the American frontier advance brought the organization of churches, schools, and even bitter personal contentions over the relationship of the individual to God and government. It is possible that religious awakening on the frontier with all of its sectarian and doctrinal disputing might have reflected the spirit of seventeenth-century Britain. In fact, much of the text of this book deals with the transplantation and repetition of cultural experiences which began almost with the opening chapters of the history of the English-speaking people. American cultural growth produced its lengthening lists of counterparts.

These lectures are provocative. They have the basic materials for reopening the ever-enduring arguments about the fundamental meaning of culture in the history of a people. More important, they have the qualities of opening anew some of the wounds of argument over what the pioneering process meant fundamentally to American history. If this book does no more than start the cultural and frontier argument all over again, it will have performed a yeoman service. The bibliography is largely of a secondary nature, being included for purposes of appraisal rather than as an original contribution.

University of Kentucky

THOMAS D. CLARK

THE SOUTH LIVES IN HISTORY: SOUTHERN HISTORIANS AND THEIR LEGACY. By *Wendell Holmes Stephenson*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 163. \$3.00.)

THESE four essays, delivered as the seventeenth series of Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University, constitute an important contribution to American historiography. The first essay treats of historical writing in the South since 1876. In it the author discusses the influence of two "schools" of historians (the Adams-Hopkins and the Dunning-Columbia), the rise of historical societies, the collection of manuscript sources, and the vast body of writings on the South since 1900.

The Adams school were the first professionally trained southern historians. Two of them, John Spencer Bassett and William Peterfield Trent, were especially significant. Each was highly critical of the South, each established an important periodical, and each left the South and abandoned the field of southern history. Trent, however, through his writings had become "the appropriate portrayer of the South fully as much as Turner for . . . the West." The Dunning school, centering their interest on the Civil War and Reconstruction, were more sympathetic with the South and less objective than the Adams men but were broader and deeper in their analyses of the South. Among them J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, and Walter Lynwood Fleming made distinctive con-

tributions: Hamilton in assembling the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina, Phillips in his interpretations of the plantation-slavery regime, and Fleming in his studies of Reconstruction.

Professor Stephenson discusses and evaluates the work of three distinguished historians: William E. Dodd, "Historian of Democracy," Phillips, "Historian of Aristocracy," and Fleming, "Historian of Conservatism." Dodd made little "contribution for he did not delve deeply nor exhaustively." He was not a "final authority on any subject he investigated," and a "high incidence of error characterized" his writings. But he "helped to inaugurate a scholarly treatment" of the South, "was a pioneer in presenting the tripartite sectionalism of the antebellum period," and gave new significance to the democratic tradition as a rationale of the sectional controversy. Phillips was a spokesman for the planters, whose economic power and political prestige made them the "Dominant Class of the South." His writings bear "eloquent testimony" of his "fullness of knowledge, ripe experience, and majestic pause." They disclose a "sense of humor" and a "literary charm" seldom found in scholarly works, but they neglect the plain people and professional men and minimize the Negro's quest for freedom and civil rights. "Much of what he wrote was true; but it was not the whole truth," and his interpretations have been vigorously attacked by revisionists. Fleming's study of Reconstruction, characterized by exhaustive research, made important contributions to social and economic history. The "comprehensive framework [of his study] is a permanent legacy," and his conservative interpretation "was a necessary step in the development of an accurate portrayal" of Reconstruction. It is marred, however, by bias for the southern white and failure to appreciate the Negro's positive contributions.

Professor Stephenson presents these historians critically but places them in the context of the period in which they lived and worked. His interpretations are sound and convincing. The critical "Essay on Authorities" adds to the value of the interpretative essays.

University of North Carolina

FLETCHER M. GREEN

HENRY WATTERSON, RECONSTRUCTED REBEL. By *Joseph Frazier Wall*. Introduction by Alben W. Barkley. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 362. \$6.00.)

For more than fifty years, Henry Watterson of Kentucky was one of the best-known figures in American life. With "Marse Henry" as his sobriquet and the *Louisville Courier-Journal* as virtually his synonym, he took a conspicuous part in the history of American politics from Grant to Wilson and in American journalism from Greeley to Scripps-Howard.

Watterson presents difficulties to the biographer, for, though he was historically prominent, the nature of his importance was elusive. Famous as an editor, he did not really manage the *Courier-Journal* but used it rather as a sounding board and

a base of operations. High in the counsels of the Democratic party and author of more than one national platform, he was chronically at odds with Cleveland, Bryan, Wilson, and other major party leaders. Stereotyped as an ex-Confederate soldier and an old-fashioned Kentucky colonel, he was a leader of the "New Departure" which preached a gospel of reconciliation between North and South and accepted the tenets of industrial capitalism as a part of this gospel.

Joseph Frazier Wall's biography deals with these paradoxical factors in judicious fashion. Wall sees Watterson for what he was: a vibrant, compelling personality with a gusto for life; a volatile, erratic figure guided by emotion rather than by reason; a quixotic party leader who owed his success to his talent and dash and verve rather than to his judgment, which was usually wrong. Without either overestimating Watterson or condescending to him, Mr. Wall effectively recounts the story of "Marse Henry's" career, and his narrative has just enough of the color and vividness of Watterson's own personality and outlook on life to give pace to the book and fidelity to the portrayal. Primarily descriptive, rather than analytical, this biography is none the less incisive in its judgment, and it delineates fully the appealing personal qualities of this "darling of the Southern gods" without overrating Watterson's historical importance, which was marginal.

The author's research has included full and scholarly use of the Watterson papers, which are apparently somewhat chaotic, and the complete files of the *Courier-Journal*. Probably there is not much more that he could have done on Watterson directly, but his treatment of the historical movements in which Watterson participated leaves something to be desired—particularly his observations on Populism and on the Populists' "capture" of the Democratic party in 1896. Also, the importance of Watterson's role as a conservative is left undeveloped.

For historians, perhaps the most important point in the book is Professor Wall's treatment of the question of the Southern Democrats' capitulation to Northern capital in the electoral crisis of 1876-1877. Wall makes two notable arguments: that the decision to appoint an electoral commission, rather than the decision not to filibuster, was the crucial event; and that an analysis of votes in Congress shows Northern Democrats acquiescing in the election of Hayes as readily as Southern Democrats. This does not directly contravene what C. Vann Woodward has written, for Woodward emphasizes decisions made in caucus, but it does tend to reopen a complex question.

Yale University

DAVID M. POTTER

NETHERLANDERS IN AMERICA: DUTCH IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, 1789-1950. By *Henry S. Lucas*. [University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science, Volume XXI.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1955. Pp. xxxi, 744. \$10.00.)

THE scholarly literature on the history of the Dutch element in the United States is comparatively small. The familiar story of Dutch settlement along the

Hudson and Delaware rivers in colonial times has, of course, been told and retold since O'Callahan and Brodhead; but the migration of Netherlanders to Michigan and Iowa in the nineteenth century has attracted much less attention on the part of American historians. Until the publication of the present volume by Professor Lucas of the University of Washington, the only comprehensive survey of the subject was Dr. J. van Hinte's *Nederlanders in Amerika*, a monumental Dutch work in two volumes.

Using the same title in translation, Professor Lucas has sought to provide "a complementary treatment of the same theme, independent in spirit, and generally covering the history of the settlements in greater detail." Although his aim has been "to trace step by step the history of all Dutch settlements made in this country and Canada and to account for their success or failure," Professor Lucas is mainly concerned with the emigration of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as his title indicates. His "Netherlanders," like Van Hinte's, are essentially the Dutch of the Middle West; and the discussion of their coming and first settlement, their subsequent expansion and dispersal, their adjustment to and participation in American life, fills all but the first forty pages of this thick volume.

For all their outward similarities, the two works by Professor Lucas and Dr. Van Hinte are written from quite dissimilar points of view. As a sociologist, the Dutch scholar was in search of general patterns of human behavior. Professor Lucas, on the other hand, avowedly shares the antiquarian's delight in "the unique and extraordinary event, the curious fact." Moreover, each author has a different personal relationship to his subject. As a Netherlander addressing himself to a Dutch audience, Van Hinte views the immigrants primarily as transplanted fellow countrymen and shows little sympathetic understanding of their progressive Americanization. Professor Lucas writes as an American for Americans. Being himself a descendant of the Michigan Dutch and having grown up among them, he approaches his task in a spirit of filial piety, if not outright ancestor worship.

Such close identification with one's subject has certain dangers which Professor Lucas has not escaped. For while his mastery of his sources can hardly be matched, his interpretation of these sources has been at times unduly influenced by local tradition. Like most Dutch-Americans in Michigan and Iowa, Professor Lucas attributes the decision of the first settlers to leave their homeland to religious motives, representing the followers of Van Raalte and Scholte primarily as refugees from religious persecution. He contends that nearly all the immigrants who came to the United States in 1846-1856 were Seceders from the Dutch Reformed Church and as such had at one time or another been victims of religious persecution in the Netherlands. He says this in spite of the fact that contemporary Dutch government statistics show that, of a total of 7,661 heads of families and single persons emigrating from the Netherlands between 1831 and 1856, only 17.5 per cent were Seceders. According to that source, which was certainly available to Professor Lucas, in 1847—the top year of the Dutch migration—not more

than 19 per cent of the emigrants included a desire for greater freedom of worship among their reasons for leaving the Netherlands. This is not surprising, for, with one exception in 1846, the active persecution of Seceders in the Netherlands had ceased well before the main wave of migration to the United States began. It is significant in this regard that such spokesmen for the emigrant Seceders as Van Raalte and Brummelkamp emphasized unemployment and poverty as reasons why so many of their co-religionists were seeking "resort to a country where work awaits the man and not man the work."

To suggest that immigrants from the Netherlands were motivated in their coming by deplorable economic conditions in their home country does not deny, as Professor Lucas seems to fear, that religion had a great power in determining the pattern of that immigration. The attachment of the Seceders to a common faith led them to travel and settle in groups, and their strong religious concept of life imposed itself upon the communities which they founded and which eventually attracted Netherlanders of various religious backgrounds. To recognize the Seceders as a minority rather than a majority of the Netherlanders in the New World magnifies rather than diminishes their power.

As a compendium of detailed factual information on almost every phase of Dutch settlement in the United States during the last two centuries, Professor Lucas' book is clearly equal and in some respects superior to Van Hinte's, though social scientists may continue to prefer the latter because of its more analytical approach. Of particular interest in Professor Lucas' work are the three concluding chapters in which the author describes the religious and political activities of the immigrants, their cultural ties with the Netherlands, and their gradual Americanization.

The book is equipped with an index of names but regrettably lacks a bibliography. Footnotes have been assembled at the end of the volume. In conclusion it should be noted that, concurrently with his narrative history, Professor Lucas has also published a collection of immigrant memoirs and related writings illustrating the events described in *Netherlanders in America (Dutch Immigrant Memoirs and Related Writings* [Assen, 1955, 2 vols.]).

Stuttgart, Germany

BERTUS H. WABEKE

THE RISE OF THE NATIONAL TRADE UNION: THE DEVELOPMENT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ITS STRUCTURE, GOVERNING INSTITUTIONS, AND ECONOMIC POLICIES. By *Lloyd Ulman*. [Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1955. Pp. xix, 639. \$9.50.)

ALTHOUGH there have been many studies of individual national unions in the United States and of particular trade-union practices and characteristics, Professor Ulman's book is the first significant attempt to assess the structure and poli-

cies of the national unions as a whole during the first crucial half-century of their development, 1850-1900.

Professor Ulman explains in detail how the need for dealing with the various problems presented by the traveling union member and the crucial question of strike control helped to strengthen the authority of national unions over their locals. He describes the development of governing institutions in the nationals, examines problems of jurisdiction and the relationship of the national unions to local federations and to the national federations, and analyzes the policies of the national unions with respect to strikes, wages, geographic differentials, and work rules.

In the final section of his book, Professor Ulman skillfully appraises the Commons and the Perlman theories of the labor movement and offers his own "alternative hypothesis." Seeking particularly to explain the emphasis which the American trade-union movement has placed on collective bargaining as a method, Professor Ulman argues that the remarkable economic growth of the country and the relative scarcity of labor in the nation combined to give the American worker a relatively high money and real wage income, persuaded him to resort to collective bargaining, and, at the same time, ensured that this tactic would lead to successful results frequently enough to make it labor's chosen method. Since economic abundance and a low ratio of labor to natural resources also appear to have contributed to the relatively slow growth of trade unionism in the United States, Professor Ulman is, in effect, arguing that the same conditions which retarded the development of unionism in this country also explain the character and success of such unions as were formed and did survive.

Professor Ulman challenges the adequacy of John R. Commons' thesis that national unions emerged in response to the growth of a national market for products. He quite rightly points out that such a theory hardly explains the development of national unions in local product market industries like construction. Following T. W. Glocker, Professor Ulman, although he does not ignore the importance to unionism of the growth of a national market for products, contends that the growth of a national market for labor, resulting from labor's geographic mobility, was in itself "a sufficient cause for the rise of national unions" (p. 49). He does, indeed, demonstrate that the latter factor served to add somewhat to the authority of the national unions, but he does not prove that it led to their formation.

In writing this work, Professor Ulman relied primarily on secondary materials, a few government documents, and, particularly, on the constitutions and official proceedings of the bricklayers, carpenters, printers, molders, and bottle blowers. He made only sparing use of trade-union journals and altogether ignored manuscript materials. The result is that his book has a formalistic, arid quality; it tends to see unionism from the outside rather than the inside.

The Rise of the National Trade Union is the work of an economist rather than of a historian. It is unusually strong in analysis, but it makes little attempt

to describe the changing fortunes of individual national unions or of the national unions as a whole. Both labor historians and labor economists will be grateful to the author for his informed and incisive analysis of union practices, but historians at least, one suspects, will be disappointed that there is so little "history" in this book.

University of Michigan

SIDNEY FINE

PIONEERING IN BIG BUSINESS, 1882-1911: HISTORY OF STANDARD OIL COMPANY (NEW JERSEY). By *Ralph W.* and *Muriel E. Hidy*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1955. Pp. xxx, 839. \$7.50.)

THIS first of three primary volumes detailing the history of Jersey Standard might almost have been entitled "Pioneering in Big Business History." Never before 1947, when this project was launched by Professors N. S. B. Gras and Henrietta M. Larson under the auspices of the Business History Foundation, had any scholars in the United States been given "unrestricted access" to the records of a large living corporation, together with "complete freedom" to publish the full history of its administration and operation. Readers will appreciate with the authors what a bold challenge was presented by Standard Oil, "whose history was weighted with public controversy and whose operations have long been and still are of significance to countless individuals."

Indeed it is this very mixture of the enormous importance of the Standard Oil combination and the long record of controversy surrounding its operations which renders objective analysis difficult if not hazardous. Foreknowledge of what has already been written by Henry Demarest Lloyd, Ida M. Tarbell, and Gilbert H. Montague, among contemporaries of Standard's youth, or Matthew Josephson, Allan Nevins, and Chester McArthur Destler, among latter-day historians, intrudes upon the reader's mind. It is no easy matter to dissolve deep impressions of long standing which begin with the South Improvement Company, continue through the era of "trust-busting," and conclude with the Supreme Court's dismemberment of the Standard Oil combination in 1911. Yet *Pioneering in Big Business* is so monumental a study that it is to be hoped historians will receive it as an important contribution to their knowledge, not merely as additional fuel for old fires. For here is a new and commanding perspective of the colossus of the petroleum industry, one which induces neither denunciation nor apology, nor even a "balanced" attempt at fence-straddling.

What is this novel perspective of Standard Oil? Succinctly stated, it is an institutionalized perspective, a history of the administration and operation of a large, vertically integrated company. It is a biography of the Standard Oil combination rather than of the men who directed its far-flung activities. It is an inside story of accomplishments and failures, of external influences and internal processes which sponsored innovations in both administration and technology, of the impact on executives of a critical public opinion, and of the efforts of gov-

ernment to regulate their activities. Above all, this perspective delineates a gigantic system at work, "a system which, though ever changing with leaders and events, was intended to maintain a balance between centralized formulation of policy and local autonomy in field operations."

Hence the perspective inevitably becomes nearly depersonalized at times, even though peopled throughout with well-known names and faces. Thus, to borrow from the authors, "The behavior of John D. Rockefeller and his associates, large and small, seemed to us to be most realistically presented as a result of decisions made in response to a succession of prods and pressures." The result is that, instead of the familiar images of monopolists, "robber barons," and the embattled heroes of the people, we are left with an over-all grasp of a complicated, white-collar world emerging which systematically collected and digested the information necessary for making recommendations, formulating policy, and maintaining controls, a world, moreover, where decisions stemmed from co-operative action by men whose lives "consisted largely of trotting from one conference room to another."

Before 1911, the success of Standard Oil's managerial techniques could be demonstrated by the efficient and profitable operation of its large-scale enterprises. However, the combination's greatest shortcomings lay within the then almost undefined field of public relations, with the resultant failure to evaluate properly the existing prejudices against monopoly and preponderant size or power. Even so there was growing public recognition that the organization of industry on a massive scale, as pioneered by Standard Oil, was fundamentally sound.

This account of Jersey Standard is a historiographical landmark.

Bryn Mawr College

ARTHUR P. DUDDEN

MEMOIRS BY HARRY S. TRUMAN. Volume II, YEARS OF TRIAL AND HOPE. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1956. Pp. xi, 594. \$5.00.)

THE second volume of Harry Truman's memoirs is in many ways just like the first. There is the same matter-of-fact commonsensical style; there is the same rather mechanical use of documents, apparently simply those in his possession; there is the same omnipresent conviction that both the author and the Democratic party are pretty nearly infallible.

But notwithstanding these things, the book is obviously of the first importance. In the first place, it reveals very clearly Mr. Truman's conception of the Presidency. Here is a man who took his job with the greatest seriousness; who, as he tells us with a side glance at his successor, was never content to be briefed but insisted on hearing both sides of the more important questions presented to him and then made his own decisions; who had industry and courage and humane instincts; who, in short, stacks up pretty well as the chief executive of a great

nation. The problems that he faced were prodigious, and one gets the feeling that he was equal to them.

Mr. Truman's narrative is particularly full and well documented on the events surrounding the dismissal of General MacArthur. He points out that the decisions which he made were unanimously approved by the chiefs of staff, that there was exactly one division uncommitted in 1951, which could have been used in the Far East; that the attitude of the hero of Bataan was seriously compromising our relations with our Allies. Most important of all, he relates the events in the Far East to the situation in Europe, where the rebuilding of NATO had hardly more than begun, and where, as it looked at the time, there was a serious danger of conflict. Nor does he fail to point out the extremely mercurial character of MacArthur himself, at one time opposed to the use of the Chinese Nationalists in Korea, at another time pleading for them; at one time confident of victory, at another time predicting disaster and a forced withdrawal from the peninsula; at one time deferential, and at another time stretching his authority to the limit. It would be easy to set some of this down to partisanship, for Mr. Truman is by nature a partisan; his interpretation need not be accepted as final, but it is persuasive.

Consistently with his temperament, the ex-President glosses over the initial withdrawal from Korea in 1949, perhaps in retrospect the most serious error of the administration in the field of foreign affairs. He writes that, when the National Security Council reviewed the situation in the late winter of 1949, it had before it a report from General MacArthur stating that the training and combat readiness of the new security forces of the Korean republic had reached such a level that complete withdrawal was justified. Maybe so; but this is hardly sufficient justification of what proved to be a grave miscalculation, and one that brought immense consequences in its train.

Mr. Truman assigns to his administration credit for forcing the Russians out of Iran in 1946 through the agency of the United Nations. This is much to be doubted. It was the sinuous diplomacy of the Iranian minister, Qavam, which really accomplished the job, by first making concessions to the Kremlin and then repudiating the concessions.

On a matter on which more knowledge would be welcome, the Greek crisis of 1947 which led to the enunciation of the Truman doctrine, the ex-President gives an account which sheds little additional light on the circumstances surrounding his message. But he has some excellent analysis on the beginnings and development of Point Four, and, though he assigns to it more importance than it has demonstrated in practice, it is clear that his own attitude was imaginative and forward-looking.

All in all, this is a "source" which no one can neglect. And, all in all, it reveals an attractive and admirable President of the United States.

Cornell University

DEXTER PERKINS

THE DECLINE OF AMERICAN LIBERALISM. By *Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr.*, Professor of History, American University. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1955. Pp. xiii, 401. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Ekirch has written a short history of the United States from the hopeful eve of the Revolution to the frustrating morrow of World War II, and, to tell the truth and give him his due, he has managed to write one quite different from almost all other short histories of the United States. What distinguishes this book from other respected works in the field is, first, the author's insistence that all men and movements and parties and programs be measured against an unchanging standard of political and social virtue, and, second, his conclusion that, when all measurements have been impartially taken, our history as an independent people will be seen as a "decline" rather than a "rise," as a descent from paradise rather than an ascent to glory.

The unchanging standard of virtue is, in one word, *liberalism*, which Professor Ekirch defines in rigidly classical terms—a fact that he admits at the outset. The liberalism about which he has written, and which he holds to have declined tragically in the course of our history, is a blend of faith and practice that has as its core the freedom of the individual, economic and intellectual, from the power of government, good or bad. This liberalism seems to have flourished most vigorously in the middle of the eighteenth century; but since the Revolution, an illiberal event in his interpretation, it has been declining, if not steadily, certainly irreversibly, under the relentless assaults of coercion and intolerance and centralization.

Professor Ekirch singles out four great and historic enemies of American liberalism: *war*, which means every war we have ever fought; *nationalism*, which means everything from Lincoln's forcible defense of the Union to the Fourteenth Amendment; *government intervention*, which takes in every piece of subsidizing or social legislation from the economic programs of Hamilton to the civil-rights proposals of Harry S. Truman; and *majoritarian democracy*, the excesses of which are personified by Andrew Jackson and Senator McCarthy. Any man, however noble his purposes and difficult his situation, who has led the nation to war or acted to strengthen the Union or pushed for social reform or been impatient with constitutional processes has, in the author's view, contributed to the decline of the first and greatest American way of life. Those who usually get their lumps in this kind of book—Federalists, slaveholders, abolitionists, exploiters of men and resources—get them again; but so, too, do other men, men like Samuel Adams, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson. Even Thomas Jefferson does not escape unscarred, and one is asked to believe that John Randolph of Roanoke proved himself a better liberal than Jefferson by playing "a significant role in combating the centralizing tendencies in the Republican administrations of Jefferson and Madison." In the end, no one really survives the stern test of Professor Ekirch's liberalism. We are, it would seem, a nation betrayed by the ambitions and good intentions of our greatest men.

This, it need hardly be said, is a very subjective kind of history—even though written with a fine show of cool, dispassionate objectivity—and every reader will have to make up his own mind on the viability of the main thesis. I do not mean to give the impression that the author has been irresponsible or feckless or merely clever. Quite the contrary, Professor Ekirch proves himself an able, learned historian, and no one will fail to profit from a careful reading of this book. But I do say that it is a triumph in doctrinaire irrelevancy, a book that forces the vast and wonderful stream of American life into a narrow channel of artificial construction and makes it flow steadily away from freedom. Only by holding all our great men and movements up to an impossible standard of judgment could a historian write of America in terms of decline—decline, be it noted, almost from the outset of our history—and only thus has Professor Ekirch been able to pass his awful judgment on our experiment in democracy. His is a brave attempt, but I doubt that it will succeed. Other historians, less cold-eyed and more forgiving, will continue to write of our history—at least until 1917 or 1933 or 1956!—as a rise rather than a decline, and most people will continue to believe them.

Cornell University

CLINTON ROSSITER

THE MEANING OF AMERICA: ESSAYS TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT. By *Leland Dewitt Baldwin*. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1955. Pp. 319. \$4.00.)

DOES America have a "meaning"? Is there an "American spirit"? Does America have a "mission"? Is there, or was there, a "genius of America"? Is there a "typical American"? What is the "American Quest"? Is there an "American character," and is there such a creature as a "real American"?

All these terms express intangibles that are practically impossible either to define or to demonstrate. The empirical historian who believes his science to be bound by the limits of empirical evidence will approach them with extreme caution, because he cannot be even reasonably sure, on the basis of the empirically verifiable data available to him, that they are real, or that they have any actual existence outside the romantic, nationalistic imagination of the historian himself.

Yet they are concepts which, despite the fact that each one varies in form and nature from one historian's mind to the next, do have a sort of metaphysical reality in the minds of patriots, politicians, poets, and even historians. And it would be easy to demonstrate that such intangible, metaphysical concepts consistently have had an enormous impact upon the course of history. They are therefore proper subject matter for the study of the historian. The validity of the study of such phenomena is spectacularly demonstrated by Ralph H. Gabriel's *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940).

Professor Baldwin's book, in spite of its title and subtitle, hardly makes the historical reality and nature of America's meaning and the "American spirit" clearer than they have been. The book, however, is not without a certain high

value; for it represents a sort of distillation of the results of Professor Baldwin's long and thoughtful study of American history. It contains rather more of critical wisdom and historical insight than many such works do, together with its full share of their folly. In form it is a sort of running commentary upon the major phases through which American history has passed, with such chapter headings, for example, as "The American Quest," "The Rampageous West," "The Emergence of an American Character," "The Gospel of Wealth," "The Pragmatic Corporation," "Mass Production and the Mass Mind," and so on.

Professor Baldwin shows flashes of insight—or, at the very least, of provocative thoughtfulness—in such remarks as (with regard to automation) "It is apparent that under such a regime the 'trained barbarian'—the technician—will be of minimum value. There will be an overwhelming demand for men and women who are disciplined thinkers" (p. 210), or (with regard to Woodrow Wilson), "Wilson had apparently failed to see that the very success of capitalism was preparing for its transformation into another economic form" (p. 263), or (with regard to the "mass mind"), "Is it not possible that we have glamorized the democracy of the past by exaggerating the amount of intelligent and informed interest taken in public affairs?" (p. 282).

But he also shows some impulses toward generalizing and moralizing that leave the empirical historian breathless. As, for example, when he says that "[Henry] Ford was simply the typical American raised to the *n*th power" (p. 206); or that "Tolerance is making long-term headway despite the efforts of the demagogues to thwart it. . . . we laugh at ourselves oftener. We do our duty without regard to outside distractions. . . . We face facts—reluctantly, it is true—but we face them" (p. 289); or that "America has become the most significant single factor in the modern world . . ." (p. 288).

When the merits of this book are weighed against its demerits, a balance shows clearly on the side of its value. But the fundamental question as to the "meaning of America" remains unanswered. We still do not know—at least with any degree of scholarly or rational satisfaction—that America has, or had, any "meaning" whatsoever. One might, rather, ask, what was the meaning of the ante-bellum South? What was the meaning of John Brown? What was the meaning of colonial New Jersey, or the meaning of fundamentalism or communism or Christian Science?

Would it not be closer to the historical truth to say that America has had many meanings? That some of these it has shared with England, or with other nations, but that it is impossible to identify any single "meaning" of "America" as such, and that it is constantly taking on new "meanings"? Surely there is no fixed, absolute, and unchanging historical "meaning" of any society or civilization, so long as it is alive. Any such "meaning" would signify cultural death.

University of Washington

MAX SAVELLE

MISIONES ARGENTINAS EN LOS ARCHIVOS EUROPEOS. By *Raúl A. Molina*. [Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, Misiones americanas en los archivos europeos, VII.] (Mexico, D.F.: the Institute. 1955. Pp. vii, 745.)

IN this volume Señor Molina offers us more than the title promises. His book contains not only a comprehensive listing of source material from European archives which is pertinent to Argentinian history, but gives, in addition, an interesting explanation for the long delay in unearthing these records. In this reviewer's opinion, it is the first chapter of Señor Molina's book which will be most likely to engage the attention of his American and European colleagues. It is entitled "El Nacimiento de la Leyenda del Odio" and adds a significant contribution to the analysis of the *Leyenda Negra*. Señor Molina asserts that a veritable legend of hate has obscured and even asphyxiated the attempts to revindicate the work of the Spanish mother country on Argentina's soil. The author has, therefore, undertaken to write this chapter in the history of ideas in Latin America with the purpose of showing how politicians and historians have projected into the early periods of Argentinian history their own hatred and prejudice against "Spanish tyranny" instead of approaching the record with an open mind. Thus documentary proof, which might controvert their attitude, has been left to slumber in the archives of Spain and the other great European powers. Molina's panoramic essay on Argentinian historiography from the days of May, 1810, through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is an illuminating contribution to the retroactive force of historical judgment which Henri Bergson had in mind when he said, "Reality casts its shadow behind into the . . . distant past." Señor Molina is in accord with the attempts made by Silvio Zavala, Lewis Hanke, and Ricardo Levene (to mention only a few outstanding names) to make amends for the injustice done to Spain and to recast our picture of Hispanic enterprises in the Western Hemisphere.

The bulk of the book is not, however, given over to polemics. It points first to the impetus that the dispute over frontiers between Argentina and Chile and between Argentina and Brazil imparted to historical research. The foundations of international law, accepted by the Latin-American republics at the dawn of their independence, made it imperative to look for documentary evidence of those boundary lines in royal decrees and international treaties dating from colonial times. In the process a considerable amount of material was discovered in Spanish archives that proved to be of great importance in the reconstruction of earlier periods in Argentina's history. If these findings were the by-product of international relations, characteristic of the Western Hemisphere, others came to light from the interest that ecclesiastical historians took quite naturally in the supranational ties that link all branches of the Roman Catholic Church. To these ecclesiastical historians must be added the names of independent historians like Enrique Guíñazú, Enrique de Gandia, and many others, who undertook re-

search in European and American archives while pursuing topics of their own interest. Furthermore, the city of Buenos Aires, the National Library, and the National Archive were instrumental in instigating missions to European archives which produced valuable studies on a great and varied number of historical problems. More than half of Señor Molina's book is dedicated to what one might call a "catalogue raisonné" of the copies of European records which can be found in Argentinian institutions today.

Sweet Briar College

GERHARD MASUR

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

DAS BILD DES MENSCHEN IN DER GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG VON POLYBIOS BIS RANKE. By *Paul Kirn*. (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1955, pp. 230, DM 12.80.) Dr. Paul Kirn's forty-year preoccupation with medieval historiography has not blunted his sense of humor. He assures us his work has been pleasant for him and he excuses himself for not reading manuscripts "with wrinkled brow and gnashing teeth." He demolishes effectively the delusion of "the good old days" of antiquity and the Middle Ages by reminding us of their perennial wars and universal brigandage. In five of the six chapters he examines historians' modes of presenting character through rhetoric, direct description, syncretism, contrast, and anecdote. Chapter six deals exclusively with two admittedly obscure medieval historians—Psellos and Giraldus Cambrensis. In his elementary but comprehensive *Einführung in die Geschichtswissenschaft* (Sammlung Göschen, 1947), Professor Kirn confines himself to German sources. In *Das Bild des Menschen von Polybios bis Ranke*, his mastery of French and English sources becomes apparent. (Incongruously enough, Professor Crane Brinton and Theodore Dreiser are the only Americans cited.) All Latin quotations except the most obvious are translated for the reader. *O tempora, o mores!* The historians Polybius, Plutarch, Tacitus, and Ranke recur most frequently. The title of the book conveys a misunderstanding, then, if the reader expects adequate treatment of the in-between historians. A more realistic—even if less attractive—title would have been "von Polybios bis Psellos und Giraldus Cambrensis." This notion strengthens our author's explicit motive: "The history of world literature is not yet acquainted with the name of Giraldus de Barri, but it should be." Detailed notes following the text, a list of abbreviations, a limited but annotated bibliography, and an index attest to a labor of love joyfully consummated.

LOUIS KESTENBERG, *University of Houston*

THE CLASSICS AND RENAISSANCE THOUGHT. By *Paul Oskar Kristeller*. [Martin Classical Lectures, Vol. XV.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press for Oberlin College, 1955, pp. 106, \$2.50.) There are few scholars today who have as wide and profound a knowledge of Renaissance thought and its classical background as Professor Kristeller. It is most fortunate, therefore, that we have now obtained a synthesis of the results of his many studies through the publication of four lectures given at Oberlin College, in which he has succeeded admirably in his purpose "to draw a rough but comprehensive map of Renaissance learning . . . and thus to help prepare a system of orientation in which each thinker and each philosophical idea might eventually be assigned its proper historical place." In his first and last chapters Professor Kristeller discusses the basic character of the humanist movement, focusing his attention primarily, though by no means exclusively, upon Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Differing from Professor Eugenio Garin, Professor Kristeller strongly emphasizes the fact that "Renaissance humanism was not as such a philosophical tendency or system" (p. 10) but rather "must be understood as a characteristic phase in what may be called the rhetorical tradition in Western culture" (p. 11). He observes rightly that, compared with the works of the greater Greek, scholastic, or modern philosophers, most of the humanist writings "seem to lack not only originality, but also coherence, method and substance" (p. 17). Yet, in spite of, or

perhaps because of, this fact they exerted a marked influence upon the creative arts and literature of the period. Like most recent scholars, Professor Kristeller rejects the concept of the pagan character of humanism and considers the movement to be "in its core neither religious nor antireligious" (p. 74). In regard to the northern developments, he suggests that the term "Christian humanism" be limited "to those scholars with a humanist classical and rhetorical training who explicitly discussed religious or theological problems in all or some of their writings" (p. 86). By this definition he excludes such men as St. Thomas and Luther and includes not only Erasmus, Vives, Budé, and More but also Melancthon, Calvin, and the Jesuit Fathers. Of particular value are the two middle chapters of the book in which Professor Kristeller traces the Aristotelian and Platonic traditions from antiquity through the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. He demonstrates the close interdependence between the two schools in Italy and shows convincingly that "the tradition of Aristotelianism continued to be very strong throughout the Renaissance period, and in some ways it even increased rather than declined" (p. 24).

THEODOR E. MOMMSEN, *Cornell University*

SCIENCE AND THE COURSE OF HISTORY: THE INFLUENCE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ON HUMAN EVENTS. By *Pascual Jordan*. Translated by *Ralph Manheim*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1955, pp. x, 139, \$2.50.) One would like to welcome this little book. Professor Jordan enters a missionary plea for appreciating the importance of the history of science in the study of the past. This, he hopes, will overcome "the idea of a cleavage between natural science and the cultural sciences," on which, he says, our educational system is based. "Philosophers," continues Professor Jordan, "have attempted to prove that this cleavage is objectively justified and necessary, that the humanities have very little in common with natural science." This "is a fallacy which prevents us from developing the historical consciousness that is needed today" (p. 3). It may be so, though one would like to know who the philosophers are. In any case, the objective is laudable, and those actively concerned with teaching and research in the history of science will be bound to regret that this book is not likely to advance the worthy cause. Its view of history is essentially that of Condorcet, though expressed with far bolder naïveté—science is progress and politics are folly. Thus, Liebig's invention of artificial fertilizer, an "achievement scarcely mentioned in history books written by one-sided 'humanists' was more important for the development of modern Europe than most of the political events of the previous hundred years" (p. 12). Nor can the discussion of scientific history be recommended. It abounds in errors, some of them truly egregious, such as the statement that it took Columbus, whose voyage is described as a scientific expedition, to prove that the earth is round. There is, therefore, one sense in which the book may be said to illustrate its thesis. That a distinguished physicist should devote to the history of science an essay which reveals so profound a misapprehension of the subject may indeed be taken as an indication of the importance of cultivating this branch of history.

CHARLES C. GILLISPIE, *Princeton University*

ESSAYS IN POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY. By *Samuel Bernstein*. (New York, Paine-Whitman, 1955, pp. 224, \$4.00.) Samuel Bernstein writes with a kind of Narodnik faith in democracy, socialism, the people, and the irresistible force of economic changes in shaping politics and thought. These essays are the fruit of some eighteen years of contributions to *Science and Society* and to European periodicals. Author of histories of French socialism and of two studies of Buonarroti, Mr. Bernstein is a tireless reader of primary materials. His researches encompass the whole

century of social theories in which the works of Marx and Engels are embedded. France and socialism are the central interest, but Mr. Bernstein ranges into American and English history with such articles as "British Jacobinism," "Jefferson on the French Revolution," and "French Democracy and the American Civil War." His point of view is Marxian but not Bolshevik. The *Communist Manifesto* is celebrated as "social science" which "closed the gap between labor and socialism" (p. 120). It was the work of men who "dissociated themselves from the partisans of conspiracy" (p. 118). Mr. Bernstein reveres the many and their champions, sometimes extravagantly. Babeuf's journal was "a burning hymn to democracy" (p. 83). "Always Marat put his trust in the people" (p. 14). The Constitution of 1791 "disfranchised 90 per cent of the French people . . ." (p. 26). The Paris Commune of 1781 is described with scholarly detail and deserved sympathy, but there is no adequate explanation of the tragedy of Paris *vs.* France. Mr. Bernstein does his protagonists a disservice by underestimating the good will of their opponents. From this point of view the demands of Robespierre, Marat, and Babeuf seem more reasonable, but the obstacles which they faced seem less formidable than they really were. The author's occasional extravagances and his one-sidedness are the defects of his qualities. He is like a good conscience warning us not to forget the cause of social democracy.

PAUL H. BEIK, *Swarthmore College*

BIBLIOGRAPHIE INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAUX HISTORIQUES PUBLIÉS DANS LES VOLUMES DE "MÉLANGES," 1880-1939. Etablie avec le concours des comités nationaux sous la direction de *Hans Nabholz*, par *Margarethe Rothbarth* et *U. Helfenstein*. Editée par le Comité International des Sciences Historiques. Publiée avec le concours financier de l'UNESCO et sous les auspices du Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1955, pp. xi, 403.) In 1930 at the International Congress of Historical Sciences in Warsaw, Henri Pirenne initiated the preparation of the volume the title of which appears above. To compile a bibliography of this nature is an enormous task. It was here ably performed largely by national committees working at first under the direction of Marcel Handelsman and later under Hans Nabholz. The result is a volume useful to specialists, who have hitherto had no general guide to the diverse but often excellent studies published in *Festschriften* and like works. The volume unfortunately does not cover American studies which, when this volume was started, it was thought would be covered elsewhere. There are other lacunae which plans have been made to fill. Helpful indexes add to the usefulness of the work, in which the book titles are listed by country while the authors and titles of the specific studies are classified under general subjects.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Washington, D. C.*

BRITISH AND AMERICAN PHILHELLENES DURING THE WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE, 1821-1833. By *Douglas Dakin*, Lecturer in History, Birkbeck College, University of London. [Society of Macedonian Studies, Institute for Balkan Studies, No. 8.] (Thessaloniki, the Society, 1955, pp. 245, £1 5s.) The Greek War of Independence against Ottoman rule evoked a widespread and enthusiastic philhellenic movement in Europe and the United States. Heretofore scholars have studied mostly the purely foreign manifestations of this movement, that is, the efforts of the philhellenes within their respective countries. The above work supplements these studies by focusing attention on the British and American philhellenes after their arrival in Greece, though it should be noted that the Americans are studied far less thoroughly than the British. The author fortunately has not confined himself to a mere chronicling of the exploits of the various philhellenes in turn. Instead he has undertaken,

and carried through successfully, the much more difficult task of weaving the story of their efforts into the general history of the revolution. Also he has judiciously weighed the net contribution of the philhellenes to the cause they embraced, and has presented forthrightly his personal estimate of the numerous characters that he introduces. The result is an important and indispensable study of an important aspect of the revolution. One of the most interesting chapters is the last one, which traces the careers of those philhellenes who elected to spend the remainder of their lives in the country for whose liberation they had fought. This chapter also includes an informative analysis of the writings of the philhellenes, especially those of Thomas Gordon and George Finlay. The author has based his study on the records of the Foreign Office, Colonial Office, and Admiralty, as well as on printed materials in both Greek and Western languages. Research now being conducted on this topic in the Athens archives by Greek scholars should supplement neatly this excellent volume.

L. S. STAVRIANOS, *Northwestern University*

GESCHICHTE DES ZWEITEN WELTKRIEGES IN DOKUMENTEN. Volume II, AN DER SCHWELLE DES KRIEGES, 1939. Edited by *Michael Freund*. [Weltgeschichte der Gegenwart in Dokumenten.] (Freiburg, Herder; Freiburg and Munich, Karl Alber, 1955, pp. xvi, 503.) The first volume in this series covered European diplomacy in 1938 and early 1939. This volume begins with the repercussions of the German aggression of March 15, 1939, and stops at the beginning of August. From various sources 168 documents are included, with connecting paragraphs by the editor. The implications of the march on Prague, the British guarantee to Poland, German-Polish negotiations, German and Western wooing of the Soviet Union, the relations between the Axis partners; these and other topics of those hectic days are illustrated. The choice of documents for collections like this is always difficult. On the whole, the selection is judicious. At only two points are additions essential. *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, Third Series, Volume VI, No. 164, with its indication of Polish willingness to consider ceding the city of Danzig to Germany *before* the march on Prague, is needed for a full understanding of Polish policy. *I documenti diplomatici italiani*, Eighth Series, Volume XII, No. 53 clarifies Germany's decision to approach the Soviet Union on May 30. The documents are intelligently arranged, though the separation of No. 100 from No. 122 kept the editor from recognizing the connection between Germany's approach to Russia on May 30 and the response in Molotov's speech of May 31. The connecting passages are often unsatisfactory. The editor shows excessive sympathy for German aims (e.g., pp. 3, 40, 67, 75, 104, 129, 171, 202, 231). His "scrap of paper" attitude toward treaties (pp. 303, 361); his unwillingness to realize that German-Polish co-operation against the Soviet Union implied German domination of Poland; his exclusion of the possibility of a change of policy in Germany—perhaps as a result of an overthrowing of the government—which would have saved eastern Europe from *both* the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany; all leave the editor open to challenge. The work concludes with a chronological list of the documents that indicates their source.

GERHARD L. WEINBERG, *University of Kentucky*

DER SEEKRIEG, 1939-1945. By *Friedrich Ruge*. (Stuttgart, K. F. Koehler, 1954, pp. ix, 320, DM 17.50.) As a record and analysis of the naval side of the Second World War there are few books as good as this. It is not a mere collection of actions by theaters of operations strung together chronologically. It is a keen examination, rather, of the objectives of naval warfare and the problems the great powers had to solve in order to achieve them under the special circumstances they faced from 1939 to 1945.

The analysis is of strategy on the highest political and operational levels and in the finest tradition of naval and military thinking. The book should have little difficulty finding an honorable place in the company of works by Mahan and Liddell Hart. Admiral Ruge's approach to the role of navies stems from a conviction—a conviction shared by this reviewer—that the sea has never changed its character as a highway and that a naval war is essentially a war to keep that highway open to both intercontinental and coastal communication. The last war, he holds, was won by the nations who understood the significance of that fact and eventually managed to win control of the sea lanes. Britain's command of the Mediterranean, especially after the defeat of the Italian fleet off Cape Matapan in 1941, and American mastery of the Pacific after the battle of Midway in 1942, are cited in support of the main thesis. Both these battles achieved decisive strategic results. Unlike the British and Americans, the Germans never fully understood the real significance of the sea in wartime. Their naval operations, the author tells us, was one missed opportunity after another. Instead of concentrating both their surface and submarine fleets in the Caribbean and Mediterranean they concentrated their naval power in Norwegian waters, which Hitler considered the decisive operational theater. The Japanese made their biggest mistake in using their submarines mainly with their battle fleet instead of against American merchant ships and troop transports. All three of the Axis powers repeatedly violated a cardinal principle of war on the tactico-strategic level, that of mass. A novel feature of this work is the emphasis on peripheral seas (Mediterranean, Baltic, Black) as lines of communication for ground forces conducting operations near coastal areas. Naval as well as military strategists would be well advised not to overlook this point of view. It seems to make a lot of good sense. The source materials used by Admiral Ruge are, in the main, secondary sources in the English language. This, however, in no way detracts from the value of the book. An easily readable style, some statistical data, and several fine black-and-white maps and graphs add greatly to the book's worth.

ALBERT NORMAN, *Norwich University*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

LIBANIUS: DISCOURS SUR LES PATRONAGES. Texte traduit, annoté et commenté par *Louis Harmand*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand, 2° serie, no. 1.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1955, pp. 210, 1,100 fr.) Libanius was both a skillful rhetorician and a man of landed wealth. During the fourth century after Christ the former quality brought him renown and opportunities to speak with remarkable frankness so long as he yielded outward deference to the emperor. In the oration (XLVII) which forms the basis of the present volume his pen was guided by the passion of a real threat to his property: some Jewish tenants of an estate, perhaps near Antioch, struck against his "lawful" demands; his appeal to the courts was in vain inasmuch as the tenants secured the patronage of the local military commander; now he was appealing to the emperor to secure justice. The oration, though highly prejudiced, is generally considered one of our best illustrations of the decline of individual freedom, as against patronage, and of the rights of civilians, as against the military, in the fourth-century empire. Harmand furnishes a text (from Foerster's edition), an adequate translation, and an extensive discussion of the factual background of the case, the character of Libanius, and patronage; the latter subject is more fully treated in his principal thesis, *Le Patronage sur les collectivités publiques*. The author is judicious in his solutions of the minor cruxes and has surveyed most of the relevant literature including treatments of modern Syrian landholding, which is remarkably similar to the pattern of Libanius' day. Little more, however, can be said; the discussion often labors the obvious and does not often break truly fresh ground. There is neither index nor bibliography; Pack's book is often cited but its title never given so far as I could discover. The fourth century is a fascinating era, as I have recently argued in this *Review*, and much more remains to be done with Libanius than is attempted here. CHESTER G. STARR, *University of Illinois*

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 Feb., 1956.

Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

IUDICIUM BELLI: ZUM RECHTSCHARAKTER DES KRIEGES IM DEUTSCHEN MITTELALTER. By Kurt-Georg Cram. (Cologne, Böhlau, 1955, pp. xi, 231, DM 18.) This short volume, originally written as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Göttingen, is almost unique in the field of medieval military history. Dr. Cram has assembled and subjected to searching analysis the extant literary sources that illustrate the thinking within the medieval empire concerning the nature of war. The conclusions which he draws, while based entirely on German materials, would certainly be valid for western Europe generally. War in the Middle Ages was considered to be the final appeal to the judgment of God, who would inevitably show his favor to, or even intervene actively in behalf of, the just cause. Hence war was a part of the judicial process. The author traces this idea from its two antique sources—the Judaeo-Christian concept of Divine Justice and the Greco-Roman theory of natural law—through the patristic writers and the Merovingian and Carolingian periods to the fully developed feudalism of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Thereafter its influence is followed to the close of the Middle Ages, when a more secular approach to the theory of war supplanted the older concept. It is, of course, conjectural to what extent the theory influenced the operations of such tough-minded practitioners as the emperor Frederick II, but there seems to be no reason to doubt that it did affect the conduct of war. The belief that justice would triumph was the basis for the judicial duel. This carried over into warfare to the extent that a battle frequently degenerated into a series of individual combats. Its acceptance must have inhibited the serious study of the ancient military treatises which we know were extant; all that was necessary was to get the fight started; the rest was in the hands of God. Belief in Divine Judgment would also help account for the many attacks carried home against desperate odds, and the frequent slaughter of defeated armies from whom God had turned away his face. This book fills an important blank in the military history of the Middle Ages. JOHN H. BEELER, *Woman's College, University of North Carolina*

ALEXANDER MINORITA EXPOSITIO IN APOCALYPSIM. Edited by Alois Wachtel. [Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, Band I.] (Weimar, Hermann Böhlau, 1955, pp. lx, 576, DM 47.80.) This book is the first in a new section in the MGH, *Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte*, and it augurs well for valuable further publications in this field. The editor, a German Franciscan scholar, published in 1937 a long and important article ("Die weltgeschichtliche Apokalypse—Auslegung des Minoriten Alexander von Bremen," *Franziskanische Studien*, XXIV [1937], 201–59, 305–63) on Alexander of Bremen and his commentary on the Apocalypse. He settled definitely the problem of authorship and date and showed the full significance and influence of this commentary in the history of medieval exegesis. It is the first of such commentaries to interpret the Apocalypse as a prophecy of the history of the church from its founding by Christ and the Apostles, and thus to connect its personalities and visions with historical events from

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

New Testament times to the author's own age. While this method of exegesis is long outmoded, the commentary is of great value through its historical content and outlook, and it deserved to be published. Wachtel, the obvious choice for editor, has furnished us with an excellent edition. The *Einleitung*—which needs to be supplemented by the fuller treatment of many points contained in the editor's earlier article—covers the identification of Alexander of Bremen, more properly, of Stade, the eight extant manuscripts of his commentary and their relationship, the stages in the composition of the work and its final form, its sources and influence, and a brief description of the cycle of eighty-five miniatures found in the manuscripts. Alexander wrote the first draft of his commentary in 1235 and, after several further drafts, gave final form to his work in 1250. In the next few years, a fellow monk, the well-known Albert of Stade, made a number of additions. The editor has dealt with Alexander's sources and his method of using them in exhaustive fashion. After the Vulgate, the chief sources were Augustine—primarily the *De civitate Dei*—and Gregory the Great, but Alexander drew also on a large number of other writers from Cyprian to his own age. Of the earlier commentaries on the Apocalypse, he employs only that of Bede as a formal source, but he was familiar with those of Richard of St. Victor, Bruno of Segni, and Rupert of Deutz. Albert of Stade, in his additions, reflects a marked familiarity with Ovid, Horace, and other classical or late Latin writers. As regards influence, Wachtel has demonstrated that Alexander's work was utilized by Petrus Aureoli and Nicholas of Lyra in their important commentaries on the Apocalypse written in the early fourteenth century. The text of the Apocalypse itself is set out in boldface. Other scriptural texts are printed in italics. Additions made in the successive drafts of the commentary are inclosed in square brackets and the manuscripts containing them are indicated in each case.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE, *Catholic University of America*

PAPATO, IMPERO E "RESPUBLICA CHRISTIANA" DAL 1187 AL 1198. By Piero Zerbi, Assistente di Ruolo di storia medioevale. [Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del S. Cuore, Nuova serie, Vol. LV.] (Milan, Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero," 1955, pp. xv, 197, L. 3200.) This is an excellent and fully documented study of the relations between the papal *curia* and the rulers of Europe during the period immediately preceding the pontificate of Innocent III. It has a dual purpose: first, to show how certain policies of Innocent III had their roots in measures inaugurated earlier, and, second, to demonstrate the continuity of curial policy irrespective of the successes or failures of particular popes. The period chosen, the pontificates of Clement III and Celestine III, when the papacy was not dominated by a commanding personality, is admirably suited to this purpose. Clement III's design, as Mr. Zerbi interprets it, was a community of European states, a "respublica Christiana," bound together under papal direction and dedicated to the defense of Christendom against the infidel. Celestine III was forced to defer this fundamental aim in order to preserve the "libertas ecclesiae" against the constant pressure of the emperor Henry VI. Although the author admits that Celestine was a temporizer, he does not accept the usual judgment of this pope as weak and ineffective. Moreover, in dealing with other European states, especially the Spanish kingdoms, Celestine played a much more positive role. Mr. Zerbi has demonstrated a thorough acquaintance with the relevant papal documents. Indeed, he has contributed four additional documents hitherto unpublished. He is equally familiar with the secondary literature. It seems, therefore, almost ungracious to note the omission from his extensive list of authorities of G. Barraclough's comments on Henry VI in his *Origins of Modern Germany* and of T. C. Van Cleave's monograph on Markward of Anweiler. Zerbi's work is an im-

portant contribution to our knowledge of papal policies in the age of Innocent III which no future historian can afford to neglect.

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN, *New York University*

ENGLISH MONASTERIES AND THEIR PATRONS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By *Susan Wood*, Fellow of St. Hugh's College. [Oxford Historical Series, British Series.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. viii, 191, \$3.40.) This little book constitutes a welcome addition to the literature on medieval English monasticism, dealing with an aspect of the subject which, up to the present, has escaped careful special treatment. In her introduction the author remarks that she has "tried to describe English patronage more or less in working order in the comparative daylight of the thirteenth century" (p. 3). She has done just that. After a few introductory remarks on the nature and limitations of patronage in English monastic organization, she proceeds without delay to a detailed and orderly exposition of her subject, treating it under eight headings: "Patronage and Property," "Lawsuits and Legislation," "Elections," "Custody," "Exploitation," "Friendship and Confraternity," "Protection," "Quarrels." Through it all the author sticks closely to her subject, contenting herself with the presentation of a factual narrative of actual cases within the English church, with only slight reference to Continental parallels and with a minimum of speculation and generalization. In the treatment of a subject bristling with controversy—between patron and monastery, between secular and ecclesiastical law, and between the pretensions of higher secular and spiritual authority—she exercises much restraint, emphasizing the normal rather than the spectacular. This results in some loss of color, but the value of the work gains thereby. Throughout the work the stress is on patronage as a property right. The monks in their protests are characterized as "inclined to have the best of both worlds—to compete as men of business in secular affairs, and to be indignant as men of religion if treated in too business-like a manner" (p. 163). The study is based for the most part on printed sources, the author herself stating in the preface that it would have been considerably enriched had she been able to include in her investigation much available manuscript material. But within the stated limits the work has been well done. It evidences care in the assembling of data, judgment in their analysis and interpretation, clarity and precision in their presentation. AUSTIN P. EVANS, *Columbia University*

LO ZAFFERANO NELL'ECONOMIA DEL MEDIOEVO. By *Antonio Petino*. [Studi di economia e statistica, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di economia e commercio, Ser. I, Vol. I.] (Catania, Università di Catania, 1950-51, pp. 102.)

ASPETTI E MOMENTI DI POLITICA GRANARIA A CATANIA ED IN SICILIA NEL QUATTROCENTO. By *Antonio Petino*. [Studi di economia e statistica, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di economia e commercio, Ser. I, Vol. II.] (Catania, Università di Catania, 1951-52, pp. 83.) Spices, the most famous objects of medieval trade, were not in every instance Eastern products. Saffron, though its very name betrays an early Oriental home, was one of the most valuable commercial crops of Europe. Various regions of Italy and the kingdom of Aragon grew the best qualities and the largest amounts, with France a poor third. But the supply was small, even in medieval terms: G. Mussoni reckons the average output of Abruzzi, when that region was Italy's chief producer, at eighteen metric tons yearly. The uses were innumerable: saffron served as a condiment, a dye, a medicinal, and a scent. Its price climbed higher than that of pepper; indeed, saffron shared with pepper the honor of substituting for coins when metallic coinage was insufficient. All this has been known

through several studies, and most particularly through a monograph of Luise Bardenhewer (Bonn, 1914). Professor Petino gives further details for Italy and adds useful comments. Italian merchants in the Po Valley and in Apulia, and German merchants in Abruzzi, tried to purchase the harvest directly from individual farmers, though local authorities endeavored to bring as much as they could to the market, where more advantageous prices could be obtained through controlled bargaining. Transport costs did not affect expensive commodities too seriously: in 1501, according to the notebooks of the Baumgartner company, the charges for transporting a load of the best saffron from Abruzzi to Nuremberg were about ten per cent of the original cost. But the German merchants offered less and less, the Spanish tax collectors demanded more and more, the peasants tried to get even by mixing counterfeit saffron with the real product, and the prosperity of Abruzzese commercial agriculture came to an end. The other work of Professor Petino is slighter in size and importance. Grain trade in fifteenth-century Catania is studied with special reference to the conflicting interests and policies of the municipal, vicerojal, and royal Aragonese administration, as well as the wishes and pressures of foreign merchants, local bourgeois, and great land-owners. The latter had more than their share in determining policies, whereas the peasants had none. We join the author in deploring this fact, but we are not sure that it was the main cause for the precipitous decline of Sicilian grain exports after 1500, as he contends. The problem ought to be studied in the broader perspectives of population trends in Sicily and elsewhere, and of the general economic trend of the age which we are accustomed to call the Renaissance. Nevertheless, the rich documentation on some aspects of the problem will not be without value.

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

MOUNTJOY: ELIZABETHAN GENERAL. By Cyril Falls. (London, Odhams Press; Fair Lawn, N.J., Essential Books, 1955, pp. 256, \$3.40.) Every schoolboy knows that Elizabethan England was the home of heroes. Yet the name of Charles Blount, eighth Lord Mountjoy and first earl of Devonshire is rarely numbered among the queen's "beardless boys" whose daring saved and made a nation. The earl has not deserved such obscurity and Captain Falls's biography fills an important gap in Tudor historiography. Charles Blount's career is well worth the loving care bestowed upon it by his admiring biographer, for the earl's life is almost a case study in the Elizabethan success story. Fortune brought him to the attention of the queen, who was attracted by his pink cheeks, strong muscles, and youthful good looks, and almost overnight he became one of Elizabeth's most privileged favorites. Family connections secured him a place in politics and as the second son of Lord Mountjoy he was sent by pocket borough into parliament where he joined the rising forces of his friend and patron, the earl of Essex. Finally, talent, plus the rarely misplaced confidence of his sovereign, transformed him into one of Elizabeth's greatest generals, when in February of 1600 he was sent as lord deputy to Ireland. In three years he undid the havoc of Essex' previous efforts to curb the Irish revolt and turned the queen's most successful traitor

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

tor, the earl of Tyrone, into a penitent suppliant of royal mercy. As the author of *Elizabeth's Irish Wars*, Captain Falls is eminently qualified for his task. His description of campaigning in Ireland and of the naval operations after 1589 is masterful. Unfortunately, however, one feels that somehow Blount the man, if not the general, has escaped his biographer. The fault lies partly with Blount himself, who as an Elizabethan is strangely elusive; but it lies also with the author, who has missed the magic and verve of sixteenth-century England and whose extravagant hero worship has produced a god, not a mortal. Even so, we are indebted to Captain Falls for resurrecting a distinguished Elizabethan who has long been awaiting his Boswell.

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH, *Northwestern University*

MERCHANTS AND MERCHANDISE IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY BRISTOL.

Edited by *Patrick McGrath*, Lecturer in History, University of Bristol. [Bristol Record Society's Publications, Vol. XIX.] (Bristol, Eng., the Society, University of Bristol, 1955, pp. xl, 315, 27s.6d.) This book is of more general interest than its title indicates. Scrupulously edited by Patrick McGrath, whose earlier volume in the same series brought to print the records of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, it presents in 369 documents and 11 appendixes evidences of the public and private lives of the "larger body of men and women who made up the merchant community." Selections from a large array of records are grouped in topics covering apprenticeship and training, entrance into the freedom of the city, wills and inventories, miscellaneous economic and social interests, public affairs, conduct of trade, shipping and customs, and the flow of goods. The appendixes provide statistical samplings related to recruitment of the merchant group, shipping, and goods shipped. A glossary of seventeenth-century terms related to trade and two full indexes are included. Mr. McGrath also provides a general introduction which concludes with a detailed discussion of the Bristol records. He prefaces separately each group of documents. The book is wholly illustrative of the assumed characteristics of the Bristol merchant group. None of the documents is of outstanding value taken alone; there are no rare finds revealing unsuspected activities of seventeenth-century merchants. Nor, with several exceptions, do the samples presented offer definitive proof of historical developments even within the city of Bristol. They merely illustrate Mr. McGrath's understanding of the Bristol merchant community. Yet his perception and care in editing give the volume a general value, past the boundaries of Bristol or of English local history. First, the book is a veritable grammar for the language of early modern business practices. One thoroughly familiar with the documents, introductions, footnotes, and glossary will have little trouble finding his way in the commercial records of the English-speaking world of the seventeenth century. Second, the book furnishes a basis of comparison for other commercial communities. Third, the arrangement and selection of the documents illustrate the value for deepening the study of economic history of relating the various aspects of a business community. One hopes Mr. McGrath will furnish the full analysis to which these documents and his other recent writings point.

BERNARD BAILYN, *Harvard University*

ENGLISH RADICALISM, 1786-1832: FROM PAINE TO COBBETT. By *S. Maccoby*.

(London, George Allen and Unwin; New York, Macmillan, 1956, pp. 559, \$11.50.) This work, the fifth in a series, completes Dr. Maccoby's history of "popular" political agitation in Britain from 1762 to 1914, from John Wilkes to Lloyd George (see review of the fourth volume in *AHR*, January, 1956, p. 390). This particular volume has a special interest apart from its place in the five-volume history, dealing as it does with an age of great men in Britain and of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic

troubles on the Continent. The period was notable for the brilliance of the written word. Perhaps no other time can produce so many of the caliber of Richard Price, Thomas Paine, William Cobbett, William Wilberforce, Francis Place, Joseph Priestley, Arthur Young, Mary Wollstonecraft, to mention but a few of the prominent "radicals." This too was the age of Edmund Burke, William Pitt, Charles James Fox, and others like them. The classical economists were producing their works, and newspapers and periodicals flourished. On the eve of the French Revolution there was hope in Britain for parliamentary reform and for freedom for Protestant Dissenters from the disabilities of the Test and Corporation Acts. Events in France were closely followed. Once English thinking crystallized, reform was delayed until 1832. Attacks on the "republican" ideas of the Radicals, such as Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, failed to still Radical pens. Burke provoked a series of replies which included Paine's *Rights of Man* ("Part the Second" is noteworthy for its forward-looking proposals, which included a progressive income tax). Short sections on "Religion," "Revolutionary Thinking on Property," "Population and the Family," "The Empire and India," and "Some Trade Societies" follow the chronological history. As in earlier volumes, Maccoby quotes speeches, pamphlets, and periodicals as much as possible. These appear as separate extracts, as part of the text, and as footnotes. His select bibliography is a key to the Radical literature of the time. The treatment is uniform throughout the five volumes, and the series will be valuable to the serious student willing to extract what he is seeking from the wealth of material furnished. Dr. Maccoby has begun work on the dissolution of the old Radicalism after 1914. His long years of study have ably prepared him for this task.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG, *University of California, Los Angeles*

THE REBECCA RIOTS: A STUDY IN AGRARIAN DISCONTENT. By *David Williams*. (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1955, pp. viii, 377, 25s.) Agrarian uprisings pose for the historian many perplexing problems. With no apparent leadership, and with no program and no real hope of success, they erupt violently, wreak their damage, and subside. The Rebecca riots in Wales, as Professor Williams of Aberystwyth reminds us, were of that order. They arose, as have so many other agrarian disorders, from economic grievances, and from unwelcome social and institutional changes; and they expressed themselves in angry unthinking destruction. The gentry of Wales, themselves uneasy before the rapid changes of the nineteenth century, pressed hard on the small impoverished farmers. Whether landowners, clergymen, magistrates, or poor-law guardians, they all exacted their due, demanding their rents, tithes, church rates, and turnpike charges. They also enforced the new, more strict poor law and administered a harsh and not very enlightened justice. Of all these evils it was the heavy charges collected at innumerable turnpike gates which finally persuaded the impoverished farmers to rebel. Dressed as women, and swearing allegiance to Rebecca (who has never been identified, either by the authorities or historians), the small farmers tore down the hateful gates. They also ransacked a few workhouses, and threatened the property of those gentry and clergy who exacted exorbitant rents and oppressive tithes. Agrarian revolts have always been a time for expressing long nourished hatreds. Mr. Williams, though aware of the similarities which these riots possess in common with other agrarian uprisings, is careful to delineate their unique features. For one thing the rioters were not peasants but small farmers. Moreover the increase in population which impoverished so many of them was not caused by advances in medicine but by the introduction of potatoes, early marriages, and added grain from enclosed wastelands. Another unique feature was the sensitivity of Welsh nonconformists to paying church rates and tithes. And finally,

and rather ironically, it was England's manufacturing crisis of 1842, the first of the great industrial depressions, that precipitated the last of Britain's agrarian revolts. The falling prices of 1842 plunged the poor farmer into ruin, and out of sheer hunger he turned to destroy the nearest tangible abuses, the toll gates. Professor Williams, whose research is thorough and impeccable, gives a clear, penetrating, and exciting picture of this perplexing event. It is a signal contribution, both to the history of agrarian revolts and to the history of Wales.

DAVID ROBERTS, *University of Washington*

THE OFFICE OF PRIME MINISTER. By *Byrum E. Carter*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1956, pp. 362, \$5.00.) This volume deserves welcome as a fulfillment of the author's expressed hope of a "temporarily adequate first attempt to paint a total picture of the modern office of the Prime Minister." Largely, it emphasizes the policy-making process rather than the adequacy of policies and, in the main, stresses incidents and developments—aside from an opening account of the history of the office—which occurred after the Reform Bill of 1867. Much of the basic material comes from biographies and memoirs rather than public papers. The author's endeavor to present a total picture leads to discussions on the selection of the prime minister, including an interesting analysis of the backgrounds of recent incumbents, on his relationships with public, party, cabinet, and parliament, and finally on his conduct of foreign affairs and war, including his concern with the military and the Dominions. Concluding observations center on his growing power. Manifestly the scope of the study and the nature of the subject necessitate a considerable use of generalizations. And generalizations tend to breed controversies. Should, for example, Disraeli be sharply defined in terms of imperialism (p. 36) and Gladstone in terms of domestic affairs? Baldwin, talking informally to overseas visitors, praised the former for his attitude toward institutions, and Joseph Chamberlain and proponents of "three acres and a cow" assailed Gladstone for inactivity in domestic matters. Again, was Salisbury's manifesto to 1892 electors (p. 82) vastly more important in purpose and technique than Beaconsfield's letter in the 1880 election to the duke of Marlborough, lord lieutenant of Ireland? And, although occasional references to the working of a governmental system other than the British may be stimulating, is exposition helped or hindered by the remarks: "Perhaps we might justifiably say that Baldwin was a British Calvin Coolidge," and Neville Chamberlain "was a British model Herbert Hoover"? Contrariwise should there be treatment of what Sir Sidney Lee called the "anomalous position of Prime Minister" who before Balfour's premiership had been ignored as an officer of state in formal orders of precedence? Let there be dispute over Professor Carter's prognosis that, given present world conditions, the Chamberlains, the Churchills, and the Lloyd Georges provide the models for the future rather than the Baldwins or the Laws; let there be dispute over the use of repetition of material and opinions in various places; nevertheless the assertion can be definite that students who read this book will have good background for comprehension of almost any possible development of the office of prime minister in the days immediately before us.

JOSEPH H. PARK, *New York University*

EARLY TRAVELERS IN THE CANADAS, 1791-1867. Selected and edited with an Introduction by *Gerald M. Craig*. (New York, Macmillan, 1955, pp. xxxvi, 300, \$6.00.) This is a very readable and instructive anthology culled from the considerable body of travel literature describing conditions in the two Canadas, Upper and Lower (Ontario and Quebec), prior to the formation of the dominion. Professor Gerald Craig of Toronto, one of the editors of the *Canadian Historical Review*, knows

the subject thoroughly and has displayed excellent judgment in his selections. In addition to providing a delightful introductory essay on this literature as a whole, he has prefaced the excerpts from each of his twenty-nine representative authors with a few informative paragraphs and has inserted explanatory footnotes wherever necessary. His selections, presented chronologically, contain some fine passages on French Canada but deal mostly with Upper Canada, giving the reader a sort of moving picture of growth from a crude to a more developed society. Some of the authors are well known, a few are still anonymous. All but two, an American and a German, both good reporters, came from the British Isles and include military officers on leave, clergymen, fellows of an Oxford or Cambridge college, professional writers, farmers, and a mechanic. The compilation abounds in interesting comparisons, favorable and unfavorable, with the neighboring states and with the mother country. Some of the tales are amusing, some exciting, and many revealing. Perhaps the most persistent theme is the leveling influence of the North American environment, some writers deploring the lack of civility and others commending the absence of servility. The volume contains a ten-page bibliography and a half-dozen illustrations of contemporary scenes.

A. L. BURT, *University of Minnesota*

CIVIL DISTURBANCES DURING THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA (1765-1857).

By *Sashi Bhushan Chaudhuri*. (Calcutta, World Press, 1955, pp. xxiii, 231, 15s.) This work provides carefully documented analyses of fifty-three civil disturbances accompanied by an introductory essay on their historical background. The author has defined "civil disturbance" to exclude disorders which he regards as wars (e.g., the suppression of the Pindaris) and disorders frankly communal in character. Apart from these, every episode of violence challenging the establishment of law and order under the aegis of the British *raj* from 1765 to 1857 comes within his purview. He has combed the relevant sources with such thoroughness as to provide everyone interested in the subject, especially the sociologist, with a laboratory for the study of many types of unrest: landlord or tax-farmer *vs.* government revenue "settlement" (e.g., disturbances in Dhalbhum, 1769-1774); peasant *vs.* various types of tax-farmer or landlord (e.g., rebellion at Rangpur, 1783); resistance of tribal "hill" peoples to settled administration (e.g., military expeditions against the Bhils, 1818-1831); imposition of police taxes or other new taxes by government (e.g., disturbances at Bareilly, 1816); resistance of chieftains, traditional possessors of differing sorts of political and economic power (especially in southern India) to British authority (e.g., suppression of the poligars in the Ceded Districts, 1801-1805); conspiratorial revolts of major princes, sometimes with outside help, against British rule (e.g., rebellion of Vizir Ali, 1799). Each case study is a separate unit, docketed, numbered, and illustrated with quotations from authorities which are, for the most part, well chosen. The book is, therefore, not easy reading, despite the plan of regional treatment, with disturbances in each region taken up in chronological order. Although there can be nothing but praise for the author's narrative of these disturbances, he seems to have been unable sufficiently to divest himself of certain preconceptions with which he approached the subject. He often appears to realize the great difficulties of fitting his fifty-three cases into a uniform pattern, yet is most anxious to regard them as evidence of "national" discontent of the "masses" against foreign rule. The fact that "civil disturbances," parallel in causation and character to a few of those cited here, have occurred in post-1947 India should counsel caution in these matters, even if the multifarious ways in which early nineteenth-century India differed from early twentieth-century India do not. There are very few American or European states, no

matter how homogeneous or independent they may be, in which "civil disturbances" are a rarity. While we are learning from Dr. Chaudhuri and from other recent students of late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century India that there are more instances of real hatred, even in peasants, for the European intruders than had previously been thought, such evidence should further emphasize the complexities of the problems involved in the interpretation of the data on social unrest. As to the oppression of the *ryot*, there is obviously no simple formula linking its extent to the presence or absence of British rule. Dr. Chaudhuri's study enables us to understand better how Indian society adjusted itself to the stresses and strains of unification under one political authority in this period.

HOLDEN FURBER, *University of Pennsylvania*

MICHAEL SYMES: JOURNAL OF HIS SECOND EMBASSY TO THE COURT OF AVA IN 1802. Edited with introduction and notes by D. G. E. Hall, Professor of the History of S. E. Asia School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. (London, George Allen and Unwin; Fair Lawn, N.J., Essential Books, 1955, pp. 270, \$4.00.) Between May 31, 1802, and January 20, 1803, Colonel Michael Symes was envoy of Governor General Wellesley of India to the court of Ava. Symes was instructed to obtain a disavowal by the king of Ava of the demands of the viceroy of Arakan with respect to the expulsion of Arakanese refugees in Chittagong, to prevent either Burmese aid to or alliance with France, and to obtain a subsidiary alliance with Burma and a reaffirmation of the commercial agreement that he (Symes) had negotiated with Burma in 1795. Twenty-five documents, found in the series known as "Bengal Secret and Political Consultations" and published in this monograph, relate the fantastic story of the second Symes mission: Nos. 1-12 set up the mission and carry events to September, 1802; No. 13, "Symes's Journal," the heart of the book, covers the developments from September 26, 1802, to January 20, 1803; and Nos. 14-25 are appendixes to the Journal, which throw light on the views of King Bodawpaya, the princes, the viceroys, and minor officials, and give Symes's estimate of his results. A long introduction discloses the course of developments that led to the consolidation of power under the Alaungpaya dynasty, the relation of Burma to the Anglo-French struggle for power, and the Anglo-Burmese relations up to and including the second Symes mission. Effectively and significantly scotched is the Symes "legend": to wit, Symes was so abominably treated by the Burmese on his second mission that he dared not publish an account of it lest the account would disclose the falsity of a rose-colored story published by him of his first mission in 1795. The legend started by Captain Hiram Cox, British resident to Rangoon, 1796-1798, has been accepted by historians to the present. The well-edited documents fill a gap in Anglo-Burmese relations of the Napoleonic era, and, by revealing British aims and the impossibility of their realization by binding agreements, provide a setting for the first Burmese war.

EDGAR L. ERICKSON, *University of Illinois*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

VOLTAIRE AND THE STATE. By Constance Rowe. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. xiii, 254, \$4.00.) Dr. Rowe explains in her preface that her object is to give "a coordinated report on [Voltaire's] theory of the nation and of international relations." Her first chapter, a lengthy one entitled "The Bond with *La Patrie*," gives a chronological account of Voltaire's life in terms of his various political experiences. This in turn leads her to chapters in which she discusses Voltaire's concepts of country and allegiance, their relationship to the principles of democracy, his dislike of war, and his views—incidentally revealed to be rather confused and inconsistent—regarding national economic policies. Dr. Rowe concludes (p. 178) that Voltaire's "political philosophy was in harmony with democracy, for he believed that the State exists for the citizen, as opposed to the authoritarian dictum

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

that the citizen exists for the State. The aim of the political organization should be to uphold individual welfare and rights." The author writes from the vantage point of a student of the history of French literature. Although she does not happen to mention the Calas case nor draw upon Voltaire's *Histoire du Parlement de Paris*, nevertheless she does offer her readers the benefit of an extensive knowledge of Voltaire's writings. Counterbalancing this advantage is the fact that she does not proceed with the methodological rigor that a political theorist or a historian of ideas would employ. The picture that emerges from her pages is of a man who is determinedly rationalistic and anti-mystical. In delineating this image, Dr. Rowe is inclined to make Voltaire more of a democrat—and more of a twentieth-century democrat—than the evidence quite justifies. Under her molding hands the political thought of Voltaire comes to be virtually indistinguishable from that, say, of Thomas Paine.

ARTHUR M. WILSON, *Dartmouth College*

LA VILLE ET LA CAMPAGNE AU XVII^e SIÈCLE: ETUDE SUR LES POPULATIONS DU PAYS DIJONNAIS. By *Gaston Roupnel*. [Bibliothèque Générale de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, VI^e Section.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1955, pp. xxxi, 357.) This volume was first published in 1922 and is here reprinted without change as a tribute to its author. Since it was a pioneer study of major significance in the field of local history, republication is amply justified. Professor Roupnel has thoroughly analyzed the economic and social forces in both urban and rural society in the Dijonnais, giving special attention to the impact of events, chiefly military, on the life of the province. Most extensive is his treatment of the rising bourgeoisie, not only in the cities but also in its increasingly important relationships with the countryside, whose rehabilitation it largely effected. The work is very extensively documented and retains its original importance in its field.

WILLIAM F. CHURCH, *Brown University*

THE FRENCH FAUST, HENRI DE SAINT-SIMON. By *Mathurin Dondo*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1955, pp. 253, \$3.75.) The first biography of Saint-Simon in English since A. J. Booth's study was published in 1871 appears at a time of a revival of interest in Saint-Simonian studies on both sides of the Iron Curtain, as evidenced by a number of articles and by English and Russian published and projected translations of basic Saint-Simonian works. While interest has been directed primarily at the political and economic doctrines, particularly as regards the totalitarian implications of the movement, the task of this book is "more specifically limited to the reconstruction and interpretation of the life of Saint-Simon." "It is not the purpose of this study to discuss in detail the writings of Saint-Simon nor the social theories derived from them" (p. 1). Except for the period of Saint-Simon's military service in America and his experiences during the French Revolution, which are documented with newly used material from local archives and Paris libraries, there is little that has not already been said. It is questionable whether Saint-Simon the man, after the "Genevan Letters," can be understood without a thorough analysis of his thought and writing. The latter, an important key to the understanding of large sections of nineteenth-century European political thought of "left" and "right," still needs to be made available to the English reader. Hayek in a series of essays based largely on the most thorough study of Saint-Simon the social thinker to date, Gouhier's *La jeunesse d'Auguste Comte*, has made a beginning. Yet an English biography of Saint-Simon is still waiting to be written or translated.

GEORG G. IGGERS, *Philander Smith College*

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NORTHERN EUROPE

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THE POLITICS OF COMPROMISE: A STUDY OF PARTIES AND CABINET GOVERNMENT IN SWEDEN. By Dankwart A. Rustow. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1955, pp. xi, 257, \$5.00.) Holding that a highly developed "technique of compromise" in large part explains Sweden's distinctive place among Western parliamentary countries, Mr. Rustow deals in this book with the processes rather than the problems of Swedish government. He is concerned less with issues and personalities than with institutions and procedures, so that his focus is on how decisions are made rather than on what is decided. After a brief history of Swedish political development since about 1866, supplemented by valuable charts and tables, the author provides a systematic and informative analysis of electorate, party machinery, legislative processes, and cabinet government during recent decades. He details the workings of proportional representation and finds that "in the absence of pronounced ethnic, religious, and regional cleavages," the parties have been based primarily on occupational distinctions. Since about 1920 there has been a recognizable "four-party system," with surprisingly little fluctuation in voting strengths from election to election, and with the area of disagreement and room for maneuver correspondingly narrow. Electoral landslides being virtually unknown, politics tends, in the author's apt phrase, to become "dugout warfare," with shifting coalitions achieved by three principal tactical devices: inclusive, exclusive, and "split the difference" compromises. Mr. Rustow has read widely and thoughtfully in sources largely unknown outside Scandinavia, and his findings are clearly organized and presented. One would have welcomed more discussion of the role of press and radio, however, as well as greater attention to the ideas and motivations of Swedish politics. The subject is defined rather narrowly, and further discussion of corporatism, pluralism, and the interplay of politics and economics—topics mentioned but not fully developed—might have enriched the author's explanation of a national propensity toward compromise and helped to show just how this relates to the essentially static nature of Swedish society.

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¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

- LUDWIG CAMERARIUS, 1573-1651: EINE BIOGRAPHIE. By *Friedrich Hermann Schubert*. [Münchener Historische Studien, Abteilung Neuere Geschichte, Band I.]

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

(Kallmünz über Regensburg, Michael Lassleben, 1955, pp. xxxiii, 436, DM 24.) This is the first volume of a new series under the editorship of the distinguished German historian, Professor Franz Schnabel. The purpose of the series is to publish all dissertations on modern history originating in the history seminar of the Ludwig Maximilian University at Munich. In a sense this series is a continuation of an earlier one, which was started in 1932 but discontinued at the outbreak of World War II. The present volume takes the reader back to the period of the Thirty Years' War, to which German historians have in recent decades given but scant attention. The first question that suggests itself is, "Does Camerarius rate such a long and detailed biography?" The answer is definitely in the affirmative. Besides being one of the outstanding diplomatists and publicists of the period, he was also a force in the intellectual and religious life of the time. After studying law he was briefly attached to the imperial court at Speier; then became in succession legal adviser to Frederick IV, Elector Palatine, and chancellor under his successor, Frederick V, the recognized head of the Protestant Union. He played a leading role in the negotiations which resulted in the marriage of Frederick V to Elizabeth, daughter of James I, and also in those which temporarily won for the Elector Palatine the throne of Bohemia. When the forces of the "Winter King" were routed in the battle of Weissenberg, Camerarius accompanied his master into exile and for years was untiring in his efforts to have Frederick resealed on the Bohemian throne. In 1626 he entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus and three years later was sent to The Hague as Swedish ambassador, a post he held until 1645. Camerarius spent the last years of his life editing the works of his grandfather, Joachim Camerarius, distinguished humanist and friend of Luther, and in founding the famous Camerarius Collection of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century letters and documents. About 1870 the need for a biography of Camerarius was recognized by the historians Gustav Droysen and Reinhold Koser, but their efforts to interest their students in preparing such a biography achieved little. It remained for Schubert to assume the task. After presenting a shorter study, titled *Camerarius als Staatsmann im Dreissigjährigen Krieg* as a dissertation, he spent the next three years expanding it into a full-length biography. His work is based on painstaking research conducted in various parts of Germany, in Sweden, and in the Netherlands. Since so few of the sources have been printed, much of the information had to be gathered from hand-written letters and documents. This biography, written in a clear and sprightly style, adds much not only to our knowledge of the propaganda techniques and diplomatic maneuvers but also to our picture of the political, religious, and intellectual developments of the period. One can but hope that succeeding volumes will meet the high standards this one sets.

ROBERT ERGANG, *New York, N.Y.*

DEUTSCHLAND IN ENGLISCHER SICHT: DIE WANDLUNGEN DES DEUTSCHLANDBILDES IN DER ENGLISCHEN GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG. By *Manfred Messerschmidt*. (Düsseldorf, Michael Triltsch, 1955, pp. vi, 191, DM 7.80.) Dr. Messerschmidt in his provocative essay argues that British historians writing on Germany have habitually sought to reach general judgments on the whole character and meaning of German history; that these general judgments have gradually during the last hundred years come almost full circle from the pronounced pro-Germanism of such men as Thomas Arnold, E. A. Freeman, and William Stubbs, who regarded German history as particularly the history of freedom and the seed-bed of British liberties, to the pronounced anti-Germanism of such men as Sir Lewis Namier, A. J. P. Taylor and F. J. C. Hearnshaw, who regard Germany as the aggressor and the enemy of freedom throughout the ages; that this reversal of opinion has roughly

coincided with a change in the British view of international policy in which Germany has replaced France as the principal threat to the peace and stability of Europe; and that British historians in their efforts to describe recent developments such as National Socialism as the logical result of all previous German history have tended to read the present into the past and to reinterpret history in the light of contemporary considerations. The author tells his story in a careful and somewhat pedestrian manner and takes due account of exceptions, particularly of the more moderate judgments of Ward, Gooch, Temperley, and others in the later period. His arguments lie open to certain objections: a reversal of previous opinion does not necessarily mean a departure from objectivity, and indeed we can scarcely describe the views of Freeman and certain other nineteenth-century writers as objective; new political circumstances may and often do produce valid new insights about the past; nor does extreme anti-Germanism, though certainly present, clearly constitute the most generally accepted position among modern British historians. Yet one may scarcely contest the main outlines of the story, the reorientation both of historical opinion and of foreign policy, and these facts, though possibly subject to differing interpretations, have still sufficient weight to make this study an interesting if minor contribution to the sociology of knowledge and to cause some anxious second thoughts about the problem of historical objectivity.

W. O. AYDELOTTE, *State University of Iowa*

SIEDLUNGSGESCHICHTE OBERSCHLESIENS. By *Walter Kuhn*. [4. Veröffentlichung, hrsg. von der Oberschlesischen Studienhilfe e. V.] (Würzburg, Oberschlesischer Heimatverlag, 1954, pp. 395.) The region to which this book is devoted spreads east and west from the Upper Oder and is a fairly compact geographical unit. It changed hands several times and was divided among the more powerful neighbors, the Polish, the Bohemian, and the Prussian states. It became an international issue after the defeat, in 1918, of the Central Powers, and three countries—Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Poland—competed for its natural resources. The main theme of Professor Kuhn's book is the colonization of the Silesian flatlands as well as of the Carpathian foothills in the Teschen area. Political developments are touched upon lightly. Owing to its geographical position, Upper Silesia was neither blessed with political stability nor did it reach a sufficiently high stage of ethnic amalgamation before continental Europe, especially its central and southeastern zones, had become the prey of disruptive nationality struggles. Paradoxically enough, only after Hitler's disruption of Czechoslovakia, and of Poland, was the entire territory of Upper Silesia as described by the author politically unified, only to be broken up again after the collapse of the Third Reich. Professor Kuhn is no novice in the field of Silesian history. His first study of German colonization of Upper Silesia came out in 1933, and in 1940 he started to investigate the subject more systematically. The storm which swept over that area in 1945 played havoc with his excerpts and preliminary draft. Many of his statements could not be corroborated from authentic documents as the archival materials were dispersed. He drew heavily from the works of earlier German scholars, including C. Grünhagen's *Geschichte Schlesiens* (2 vols., 1884, 1886). In specific cases monographs of Czech or Polish authors were consulted, but apparently no use was made of Polish studies concerning the early period, published in 1933 as the first volume of *Historia Śląska od najdawniejszych czasów do r. 1400*. The author's thesis (p. 266) that only the German-speaking inhabitants of the area were fully integrated into the German national body, while the Slavic Silesians felt no urge to join their Czech or Polish kinsmen, can hardly stand critical test. In this and many other instances the author failed to extricate himself from con-

ventional concepts or clichés. The text is supplemented by numerous illustrations and several maps, including a survey map of the region.

OTAKAR ODLOZILIK, *University of Pennsylvania*

ENGLAND-NÜRNBERG-SPANDAU: EIN SCHICKSAL IN BRIEFEN. Edited with an introduction by *Ilse Hess*. (Leoni am Starnberger See, Druffel, 1953, pp. 175.) The rigidly idealized sketch of the Führer's deputy in the best Nazi style of 1934 serving as the frontispiece symbolizes the image of Rudolf Hess sought after in these carefully selected letters. Ilse Hess has designed this book as propaganda, "as a document to be presented to those who still keep her husband imprisoned after more than a decade, dedicated to those for whom the fate of Rudolf Hess is a matter of humane concern" (p. 5). Frau Hess has been a loyal and understanding wife to the strange man who loved her and his Führer and left them both. She has grasped the image of himself which Hess clings to so painfully: a man so loyal to Hitler and to Germany that he sacrificed his position to attempt the only thing that could have saved Germany and Europe, a negotiated peace with England. These letters from Hess, with her own inserted from time to time, will certainly arouse sympathy in Germany and abroad, but they reveal more about Ilse and Rudolf Hess than Frau Hess seems to intend. Hess is as enigmatic as ever about his memory lapses; Frau Hess might have explained more in her introduction and in her notes. One gains the impression that both are holding things back. In the wife's case many readers may feel simply disgust at so much self-pity and unregenerate Nazism. But this reader thought he detected in Hess's letters the roots of his pathological development. Here was no mere self-sacrificing follower of Adolph Hitler. Rudolf Hess was too much the individualist to take a back seat in the great events of 1940-1941. He had to play the hero one more time. But in his act he went too far. He had to pay the price in inner suffering for this act of independence. Aided by the loyal Ilse, he can blame the world for the punishment he has inflicted upon himself.

ROBERT KOEHL, *University of Nebraska*

GENERAL GROENER: SOLDAT UND STAATSMANN. By *Dorothea Groener-Geyer*. (Frankfurt am Main, Societäts Verlag, 1955, pp. 406, DM 19.80.) The book's jacket shows Groener in mufti and its content justifies the civilian motif. The daughter-biographer concentrates on the Weimar period, explaining his political strategy with skill and conviction. Her defense is natural and deserving even though somewhat confined to Groener sources and incomplete as full biography. Groener's lesson of timely surrender, long appreciated by Western observers, now has been more thoroughly absorbed at home. Material in this book aptly serves historical focus, and justifies the general's spirit by reminding that, although he shared salvage work with Ebert and Stresemann, his ideal types were Bismarck and Schlieffen. Groener served the republic for the sake of German interest. He understood national necessity and he came to accept the primacy of political calculation over military will. But he was ideologically indifferent toward republicanism and his lack of conviction undoubtedly is symptomatic of the German mood during the Weimar period. This aide of the republic longed for an internal galvanization à la Frederick William I, and once remarked of his ministerial colleagues: "Im ganzen marschiert das Kabinett ganz gut." Groener's major political roles were at the side of Hindenburg and Brüning. At Spa and Cassel the last commanders of the imperial army liquidated the war and shielded the continuity of a bourgeois nation state. It was Groener who pronounced the kaiser's isolation, engaged the army in partnership with republican leadership, and confessed military helplessness against the dictate from Versailles.

His strategy aimed at preservation of state and army; his tactics were unheroic, flexible, effective. Army and nation were preserved against both left- and right-wing disintegrators. That same concern for national unity motivated Groener's opposition to National Socialism and its private army, the SA. As minister of war and interior, a logical combination in those days of political gang war, he feared that internal dissension again threatened Germany with civil war and perhaps foreign interference. Abandoned by his wayward protégé, Schleicher, on the SA issue, he was caught as an exposed sniper and neutralized by the Nazi advance. The Swabian lived out his years in the Prussian *Wahlheimat*, gnawed by personal and national tragedy.

HELMUT HAEUSSLER, *Wittenberg College*

GEDANKEN ZUM ZWEITEN WELTKRIEG. By *Albert Kesselring*, Generalfeldmarschall A.D. (Bonn, Athenäum, 1955, pp. 201, DM 8.) This volume confirms again the propriety of the title chosen by Field Marshal Kesselring for his earlier memoirs, "a soldier to the very last day." He was and seems to remain one who is simply a soldier and nothing else. He went at the jobs he was given to perform looking neither to right nor left and scarcely glancing, except insofar as his military mission required it, at the path on which he made his way. In this little book Kesselring makes a sincere and in many ways successful attempt to deal objectively with the problems of German strategy, command organization, military service roles, and armament and logistic policies. He dwells at greatest length on the innumerable sins of omission and commission by which Hitler canceled out his initial successes. Frequently one gains the sense of "a war of lost opportunities" and is reminded of Max Hoffmann's book of that title about World War I. Kesselring, however, has none of Hoffmann's intense subjectivity. Though he dwells at greatest length on aspects of the war with which he was closely associated, one is convinced that this was due to his greater mastery of the material and not to any hint that he had personally been cheated out of winning the war. Virtually none of the endless list of Axis errors and failures are here laid bare for the first time. Kesselring, however, often contributes a fresh approach and gives a better rounded picture than any other work known to the reviewer. His inclination to be rather reserved in his judgments may prove to make a more effective debunker of Hitler as a national and war leader than many a more impassioned critic. Many will quarrel with his presentation of the role and policies of President Roosevelt. Any German, whether he fought the war with ardor or plotted to end it by Hitler's removal, will find it difficult to approach this problem sympathetically. One would wish, however, that Kesselring had resisted better the temptation to base his interpretation on the American writers most hostile to the President.

HAROLD C. DEUTSCH, *University of Minnesota*

DOCUMENTS ON GERMANY UNDER OCCUPATION, 1945-1954. Selected and edited by *Beate Ruhm von Oppen*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. xxvii, 660, \$10.10.) President Roosevelt's "unconditional surrender" statement at Casablanca is the opening document in this collection; the last but one is the protocol on the accession of the Federal Republic of Germany to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In between are 274 basic documents grouped by years and arranged chronologically. The selected documents are primarily of Allied origin, recording agreements, regulating relations between the occupying authorities and the German administrations, and ordering and legislating on the major problems of occupied Germany. The collection includes such well-known items as JCS-1067, the Allied Agreement on the Quadripartite Administration of Berlin, and the Potsdam Conference agreements. In

general, the editor has excluded diplomatic documents dealing with negotiations among the powers on general developments in Germany, as well as documents on internal affairs at state and local levels. A justifiable exception to this latter principle of selection is made with regard to the Soviet zone. Here is included a generous selection of Soviet administrative decrees, various confiscatory measures, items recording the activities of the Communist front party, and announcements such as the destruction of the historic land registers of the old "Fronherrn" of Mecklenburg. From these inclusions one derives a more adequate picture of internal developments in the East Zone than in West Germany. Such offerings are the more welcome as the Russian authorities published no official gazette. Within the limits established by the editor's principles of selection, as well as space limitations, this collection is admirable in every respect. But it presents the occupation at the highest policy, rather than the operating, level. What the occupation official recalls of these years are the fruitful co-operation with Germans in restoring state and local government, the pruning and purging of the courts and codes, the encouragement of local leaders, and the staggering problems of subsistence, housing, refugees, denazification, education, and public information. Many of the significant and lasting impacts of the occupation were registered at the lower rather than the higher levels of decision.

ORON JAMES HALE, *University of Virginia*

MARIA THERESIA UND JOSEPH II. OHNE PURPUR, MIT IHREN EIGENEN WORTEN UND DENEN IHRER ZEITGENOSSEN GESCHILDERT. By *Richard Raithel*. (Vienna, Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1954, pp. 120, DM 4.80.) In *Maria Theresia und Joseph II* Dr. Richard Raithel has brought together in German some of the most famous of the letters and memorandums of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, as well as other contemporary documents illuminating the life and actions of the main characters. Of the latter, he excerpts from the diaries of Count Khevenhüller-Metsch, the reports of the Prussian minister Podewils to Frederick the Great, and the acid comments of his master are outstanding. The documents are arranged in chronological order and grouped around the most important aspects of Austrian history between 1740 and 1790: the state of Austria in 1740, the Silesian Wars and the Seven Years' War, the clash of principles and personalities during the co-regency, and what the editor graphically calls "Joseph II's sole rule and end." In this latter section the more spectacular aspects of the reform program, the visit of Pope Pius VI to Vienna, and Joseph's relations with Catherine the Great are emphasized. We are also given, through the emperor's letters to his brother Leopold, a painful description of Joseph's last illness, which accentuates the sickroom atmosphere which pervades this as so many other collections of eighteenth-century letters. Though the material contained in this volume is most interesting, Dr. Raithel's collection will be of little value to the scholar since the specific sources of the documents are not given, nor, in all cases, their dates. The editor has also failed to indicate the original language. The translator of the French material, which includes practically all the personal letters, is not identified. *Maria Theresia und Joseph II* should serve to arouse the interest of the general reader. For the scholar there is no substitute for the great collections edited by Arneth in the sixties, seventies, and eighties of the last century.

EDITH M. LINK, *Brooklyn College*

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ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

CAVOUR E LA VENEZIA GIULIA: CONTRIBUTO ALLA STORIA DEL PROBLEMA ADRIATICO DURANTE IL RISORGIMENTO. By *Giuseppe Stefani*. [Studi e documenti di storia del Risorgimento, XXXIII.] (Florence, Felice Le Mon-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

nier, 1955, pp. 401, L. 1500.) Written at a time when the problem of Trieste once again figured prominently in Italian affairs, this book makes clear why Cavour did not include what became *Italia irredenta* in his immediate plans for Italian unification. A specialist in the history of Trieste during the nineteenth century, Dr. Stefani has drawn on unpublished material in the State Archives of Trieste and has made good use of already available primary and secondary sources in this study. Some very vivid pages describe anti-Austrian agitation in Venezia Giulia and the counteraction followed by the imperial government to find the leaders of the nationalist conspiracy. Political exiles found welcome in Piedmont and a secret patron in Cavour. But the Piedmontese statesman did not support the anti-Austrian movement in Venezia Giulia openly. Aware that the unification of Italy could not be achieved by Italians alone, Cavour utilized every turn of European diplomacy to his advantage. "The secret of Cavour's policy," writes Dr. Stefani, "lay in a mental elasticity which proceeded without predetermined programs and, open to all possibilities, profited from all circumstances" (p. 130). While he would have liked to extend the frontiers of the new Italian state to include Venezia Giulia, Cavour realized that such action would not only alienate France but bring into play the interests of the German Confederation and result in possible hostility on the part of Prussia. The future, he hoped, might alter the situation. "It is very useful," Cavour wrote on October 30, 1860, "to maintain good and active relations with Trieste which, from what I hear, becomes less loyal [to Austria] and more Italian. Not that I am thinking of annexing that city in the near future; but because it is necessary to sow so that our children may reap" (p. 242). Dr. Stefani has given us both an incisive picture of Cavour's policies and a careful study on the echoes of the Risorgimento in an area where many interests clashed. Students of the Risorgimento will find this work well worth reading.

EMILIANA P. NOETHER, *Weston, Massachusetts*

IL SECONDO RISORGIMENTO: NEL DECENNALE DELLA RESISTENZA E DEL RITORNO ALLA DEMOCRAZIA, 1945-1955. By *A. Garosci, et al.* (Rome, Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, 1955, pp. 495.)

DIECI ANNI DOPO, 1945-1955: SAGGI SULLA VITA DEMOCRATICA ITALIANA. By *A. Battaglia, et al.* (Bari, Laterza, 1955, pp. 599, L. 3000.) Among many others, two good books were published in Italy in 1955, in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the German surrender and the end of Fascism. *Il Secondo Risorgimento* is the result of the co-operative effort of nine authors, two of them outstanding Italian historians. Luigi Salvatorelli in an excellent essay deals with the necessarily clandestine, therefore little known and poorly documented, democratic opposition under the Fascist regime; under the calm surface there was more agitation in Italy than is usually supposed. Aldo Garosci's chapter on the ideals of liberty from the Risorgimento to the Fascist seizure of power in 1922 is an important contribution to the intellectual history of Italy from the French Revolution on, and shows the degree of diffusion of French and British liberal and democratic ideas in the peninsula. Those to whom military history appeals will find plenty of documented material in the chapters written by General Cadorna on the Partisans (Cadorna was their supreme commander during the last few months of the war) and by General Palmieri on the regular forces which after the armistice took their place alongside Allied troops. Less successful on the whole are the shorter chapters dealing with Italy's post-war experiment in democracy. The second volume, *Dieci anni dopo, 1945-1955*, deals only with the events which followed the end of the war and of the Resistance. The contributions of the seven authors are all excellent, with the possible exception of that

on the Italian economy by the well-known economist and former minister Epicarmo Corbino, whose evaluation does not do justice to the successful efforts of Italians in the field of economic reconstruction. The best chapters are those by Leo Valiana, known in Italy as a historian of the socialist movement, and by Achille Battaglia, a prominent lawyer. Discussing Italy's postwar political problem, Valiani describes the hopes and frustrations, triumphs and failures of the five main movements which, having co-operated in the Resistance, competed for the favor of the electorate; he shows the weaknesses and strengths of the Republic established in June, 1946. Battaglia gives a lively description of the difficulties the members of a judiciary have in living up to the dignity of their position after twenty years of totalitarian dictatorship. The chapter by Piero Calamandrei on the Constitution of 1948 is a helpful contribution as is that of Mario Sansone on the cultural trends of the last ten years. Neither volume pretends to give a final analysis of Italian internal developments during the ten years 1945-1955: the picture is too complex and fresh for any author or group of authors to grasp correctly the meaning of the deep transformation taking place within the Italian nation. Both volumes, however, make an important contribution.

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THE REBUILDING OF ITALY: POLITICS AND ECONOMICS, 1945-55. By *Muriel Grindrod*. (London and New York, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1955, pp. vii, 269, \$4.00.) This is a factual account of significant trends in postwar Italy. The author is obviously quite familiar with the present scene and displays considerable understanding of Italian history. For a small book, the coverage is quite comprehensive. Among the numerous topics appear accounts of Italy's political and economic struggles, her efforts at reform of age-old problems in the southern and insular provinces, and her limited role in international affairs complicated by the world power conflict. A concise examination of Italy's deep-seated economic woes and the rather valiant efforts made to cope with them occupies considerable attention. Included in the narrative are interpretations of the basic disagreements within Italian society between the old and the new, the rich and the poor, the extremists and the moderates. After a perusal of this study, one is impressed with the effort put forth by Italian statesmen to resolve Italy's festering agrarian and industrial dilemmas. The author makes no extreme claims for the accomplishments thus far in the way of land reclamation, division of the *latifundia*, and the conquest of basic industrial materials. But she dispels the idea that Italy's leaders have neither the desire nor the capabilities to cope with the questions that demand answers. At the same time, these leaders have had to combat among others the nostalgic philosophy of the unhappy Fascist minority ("It was better when it was worse") and the vigorous and often violent pressures of the Communists. For the general reader, this book is an excellent survey of Italy's many-sided postwar struggle. The student of Italian affairs will find a keen understanding of the forces that are molding Italy. A brief but good bibliography completes this timely and useful work.

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EASTERN EUROPE

Charles Morley

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SOVIET UNION

Fritz T. Epstein¹

TSAR NICHOLAS I. By *Constantin de Grunwald*. Translated from the French by *Brigit Patmore*. (New York, Macmillan, 1955, pp. ix, 294, \$4.50.) The reign of Nicholas I began with an unsuccessful revolt against autocracy in St. Petersburg; it ended with a military disaster at Sevastopol and the collapse of the social order Nicholas so frantically tried to preserve during his thirty-year reign. For his unswerving loyalty to legitimacy and his readiness to defend it anywhere in Europe Nicholas earned the title of Continental Gendarme. For his inhuman military discipline in the imperial army he was labeled Nicholas the Flogger (Nikolai Palkin). His quixotic championship of throne and altar revealed in him the nature of a sergeant and a bureaucrat, totally void of imagination or a trace of a sense of humor. Grunwald makes an earnest endeavor to interpret Nicholas by projecting himself into the stifling Metternichean atmosphere that prevailed in Russia at the time. He skillfully tries to scrutinize the psychological handicaps of that absolute monarch. The result is a curious symbiosis of two prevailing views: one is represented by the Germanophile, Theodor Schiemann, who had a definite dislike of the emperor; the other, represented by N. K. Schilder, is of the nature of hagiography rather than of history. It must also be pointed out that M. de Grunwald ably utilizes some revealing documents from Austrian archives previously unavailable to historians. The book was originally written in French and translated into English by Brigit Patmore. On the whole the translation is adequate. It may be the translator was not familiar with the Russian language as is evidenced by the transcription of Russian names into English, though on this point the difficulty may lie in the French system of transliteration. To make things worse, whoever compiled the index displayed an even greater lack of linguistic knowledge. Who, for instance, would be able to guess that the

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

name "Cheytschenkov" cited in the index refers to the eminent Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko? Or that "Arakhtchidiev" is the name of Count Arakcheev, that "Bestoujed" stands for Bestuzhev, and that "Klutchebski" means Klyuchevsky? And why, for instance, should the famous play by Gogol, *The Inspector General*, be cited in the text as *The Inspector* and in the index as *Le Revizor*? Aside from those mentioned there are a few glaring errors throughout the book that call for correction. The first mention of Moscow in the Russian Chronicle occurs in 1147 and not, as Grunwald says, in 1141. The court that tried the Decembrists did not include "all the members of the Imperial Council, the Senate, the Holy Synod, the Ministers and of the most important functionaries." The special court consisted only of representatives of these institutions. The Petrashevsky circle had nothing to do with nihilism. The frequent use of the term has long called for a clarification of nihilism in historical literature once and for all. There are other minor errors which sadly mar an otherwise interesting attempt at a sound interpretation of a sad era and quixotic royal figure in Russian history.

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

KARA MUSTAFA VOR WIEN: DAS TÜRKISCHE TAGEBUCH DER BELAGERUNG WIENS 1683, VERFASST VOM ZEREMONIENMEISTER DER HOHEN PFORTE. Edited by *Richard F. Kreutel*. [Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, Band I.] (Graz, Styria, 1955, pp. 194, Sch. 36.60.) Generally speaking, historians who study relationships between the Ottoman Turks and the European powers use only Western-language sources, and this limitation leads to a bias in their perceptions. While the translation under review cannot be accepted as a valid substitute for the original work, it will certainly facilitate scientific research on the questions with which it deals, and this is what the translator has tried to make possible. Dr. Kreutel has translated and published the diary of the master of ceremonies of Kara Mustafa, commander in chief of the Turkish army before Vienna at the siege of 1683. This diary is of extreme importance, therefore, to the history of an event that marks a turning point not only in Ottoman history but also in the development of Europe. As a source the document has already been used by the contemporary Turkish historian Mehmed Aga in the preparation of his well-known *Silahdar Tarihi* (2 vols., Istanbul, 1928), where it is almost literally reproduced. In preparing the present translation, Dr. Kreutel has compared the *Silahdar* with two manuscript copies of the original at London and Istanbul, indicating minor additions by parentheses in the text and relegating major additions to an appendix. This diary is a day-to-day record of events set down by an eyewitness. It describes in impressive style the devastation of Austria, which is interpreted as a judgment of God upon the emperor for his merciless cruelty in Hungary. In the same way, the defeat of the Ottoman army before Vienna is ascribed to the inious behavior of the Turkish troops and their ingratitude to God for his blessings (pp. 118, 140.) With one exception the translation is good and quite faithful to the original. It is a mistake to render the Arabic word *kafir* (unbeliever) in the German text as *gavur*, a Turkish vulgar expression never used in writing. In an effort to lighten the book, explanatory notes have been reduced to a minimum and grouped at the end of the book. Philological details are omitted. Finally, one would welcome some discussion concerning the textual histories of the copies at London and Istanbul.

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

Hilary Conroy¹

THE HISTORICAL STATUS OF TIBET. By T'ieh-Tseng Li. (New York, King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1956, pp. xi, 312, \$5.00.) One of the most im-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

portant contentions in this thorough and well-documented work, based upon the author's doctoral dissertation at Columbia University, is that Tibet has never been a forbidden land as generally assumed but, on the contrary, that it has played an important role in world politics. The book is possibly the best concise work on this subject. It is divided into five chapters, "Foreign Relations up to the Thirteenth Century," "Tibet as a Vassal," "Establishment of Chinese Sovereignty in Tibet," "Tibet as Buffer State," "Tibet under the Republican [Chinese] Regime." The last two chapters contain materials of value relating to twentieth-century world politics. The notes and bibliography indicate that the author has done a vast amount of research. In the chapter on Tibet as a buffer state, one finds a comprehensive and impartial discussion of Lord Curzon's "advanced policy," Younghusband's expedition to Lhasa, and the signing of the Anglo-Tibetan Agreement of September 1, 1904, which ignored China's position as a suzerain power and attempted to establish a British protectorate over Tibet. While the British authorities paid lip-service to Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, their real objective was to make it a buffer state, under British influence, between China and India, and prevent other powers (especially Russia) from getting a foothold on this mineral-rich and strategically located territory (p. 95). Governments of Republican China, as well as Communist China, pursued a policy directed toward re-establishing Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. After India became independent, and in part because of Nehru's deliberate policy of furthering Indo-Chinese co-operation in world politics, the Communist Chinese government has been able to make Tibet a province of China by signing a pact with India on April 29, 1954. By this pact India not only accepted Tibet as an integral part of China but the two contracting parties accepted the following principles as the basis of future relations between them: (a) respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (b) mutual nonaggression, (c) mutual noninterference in each other's internal affairs, (d) equality and mutual benefit, and (e) peaceful co-existence. This reviewer agrees with the author's conclusion that Tibet's status will continue to be a factor in Indo-Chinese relations in world politics.

TARAKNATH DAS, *Columbia University*

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Cecil Hobbs

SOUTH ASIA

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United States History

*Wood Gray*¹

GENERAL

THE AMERICAN TRADITION. By John D. Hicks. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1955, pp. 135, \$1.50.) It is fitting to honor a master teacher by reprinting some of his own words, which may convey something of the flavor of the man, and to do so while he is still teaching and writing. All of these eight essays by John Hicks that his students collected when he was president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association are informal; he wrote them to read aloud, and one appears in print for the first time. Some might have preferred his articles in the major scholarly journals; these are warmer and more personal, revealing more of the man as his students and other friends know him. Most represent his characteristic readiness to make affirmations of faith, even when dissent is conventional; all are in a simple English style, well piped with humor, that is so intelligible as in itself to disqualify him from fellowship with antiquarians or social scientists. These essays do not pretend to revise anybody, nor do they bristle with reference to Hicks's current inquiries into the 1920's. But all are both pleasant and thoughtful, and help to explain his impact in scholarship and in teaching. One paper states an interest in recent western history that has strongly influenced his own seminar, and his own students' writings, if not the more esoteric reaches of a state whose history still reaches its climax with the gold rush, so far as the state historical journal recognizes it. The publisher deserves commendation for publishing this little book at so low a price. The list of graduate students would have been the better, however, for a little elementary uniformity, and it is regrettable that Hicks's own bibliography could not include his book reviews, which are as characteristic as these essays. EARL POMEROY, *University of Oregon*

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

THE CONTRIVING BRAIN AND THE SKILLFUL HAND IN THE UNITED STATES: SOMETHING ABOUT HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

By *James C. Malin*, Professor of History, University of Kansas. (Lawrence, Kans., the Author, 1955, pp. xii, 436, \$3.50.) The author of this book is convinced that the history of the United States should be rewritten. Historians have failed to understand the relation between the "Century of Peace (1815-1914)" and our phenomenal growth. They have accepted Malthus and Ricardò and assumed "a closed system" in regard to population and land. They have neglected the work of ecologists, anthropogeographers, and the space-time-motion concepts of the physicists. As a result we have the Turner School with its false emphasis on the closed frontier; the Dewey-Beard-Becker group with its cynical conception of man as "little more than a chance deposit," "a foundling in the cosmos"; and the Social Science Research Council's *Bulletins* 54 and 64 with their denial of "the unique historical event," and their commendation of history written with an eye on our time and on tomorrow. Opposed to these approaches, Malin would stress the importance of "the substantial frequency and character of the land-mass interior" of the continent and "the latency or potentiality ideas" which prevailed during its occupation. It was the Century of Peace, he argues, which permitted the accumulation of capital and the release of human ingenuity necessary for the rapid growth of the United States. It was the application of steam to transportation which unlocked the potentialities of the vast continent and made possible industry and urban development. What had before been "useless" now became important, not because it had changed its character but because the "contriving brain and the skillful hand" had made it available or found new uses for it. This was but an example of how throughout history when the limits of one ecology have been reached, some new contrivance has created new relationships and a new era has begun. Malin's book makes hard reading. His thinking is involved and complex, and his meaning is not always clear. His criticisms are often based on a too rigid interpretation, but what he has to say is arresting and worthy of thought if not always of acceptance.

AVERY CRAVEN, *University of Chicago*

L'APOTHÉOSE DE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: COLLECTION DE TEXTES. Introduction and Notes by *Gilbert Chinard*. (Paris, Librairie Orientale et Américaine for Institut Français de Washington, 1955, pp. 180.) Franklin in Paris was the minister of the United States. He was also the symbol of reason, science, and liberty; and that symbol became a force in the French revolutionary movement. Franklin's disapproval of hereditary honors such as the Cincinnati proposed and his advocacy and supposed authorship of Pennsylvania's unicameral legislature were cited by reformers of the French constitution. Franklin had even been a printer, and the press would overthrow tyranny and establish and defend liberty. Many Frenchmen hailed the American as the champion of the rights of man and, in effect, a founder of the National Assembly itself. When he died at the moment the Assembly was debating the structure of French government and society, apotheosis was almost inevitable. Some of the eulogies told something of Franklin, all told something about France and what Franklin meant to France in 1790-1791. The most important of these addresses, hitherto unknown or little known, Professor Chinard has presented in this volume, with full accounts of their circumstances—Mirabeau's, which set a tone many followed; LaRocheffoucauld's, which drew on LeVeillard's manuscript copy of Franklin's memoirs; and others, including those of Fauchet, Condorcet, LeRoy, Vicq d'Azyr, and the Paris printers. Significantly, as Professor Chinard points out, the court paid no tribute to Franklin and made no effort to capture him from the republicans; while rightists, aware of the political nature of Franklin as a symbol, refused to sup-

port motions to memorialize the old revolutionary. Professor Chinard has presented a useful chapter in the story of Franklin's continuing fame and in the history of the American impact on France. WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR., *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY. By *Hugh Cleland*. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955, pp. xiii, 405, \$5.00.) Essentially a source book, covering Washington in the West as ambassador to the French, colonel in the Virginia militia, aide-de-camp to General Edward Braddock, Virginia colonel with General John Forbes, land scout in the Ohio country, landlord and expansionist (1784), and President of the United States (1794), this is an intimate portrayal of Washington the pioneer. As such it concerns minutely a career which without reference to the American Revolution or to the diplomacy of the infant republic would have insured to Washington a distinguished place in history. Familiar episodes, like the first mission to the West, the surrender at Fort Necessity, diminishing cordiality toward Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie, are further clarified, though uncritical acceptance of "assassinat" in the death of the Sieur de Jumonville is still mysterious. Competition between Virginia, that is the Ohio Company, and Pennsylvania for the highway to the West is set forth in detail. Relations with the Half King and other Indians, friendly as well as unfriendly, assume a contemporary realism. Land hunger is a persistent leitmotif, and the travels leading to Washington's large holdings along the Kanawha are traced minutely. When Washington returned to the West in 1794 to quell the Whiskey Rebellion, personal prestige was scarcely less helpful than the army of 15,000 men which accompanied him. Particular importance is attached to Washington's firmness at this juncture as cementing a union which was in danger of secession by Kentucky as well as Western Pennsylvania, which in turn might have led to a fragmentation of the continent, with inestimable consequences for the future of America and the world. Slight scope is afforded for the author's own literary powers, but numerous footnotes attest his learning as an editor, and occasionally there is distinguished writing, as in the summary on page 339 of the motives leading to the suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion. Of interest to the bibliophile is the facsimile (pp. 1-43) of Washington's "Journal" of his first trip to the Ohio, as related personally to Dinwiddie and published at Williamsburg in 1754—now an extremely scarce bit of Americana. The work is enriched by rare maps and prints and is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Washington. A graceful foreword by Dr. John W. Oliver prefaces this work of a very capable colleague.

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS, *Purdue University*

THE SECRET WAR OF INDEPENDENCE. By *Helen Augur*. (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce; Boston, Little, Brown, 1956, pp. x, 381, \$4.50.) Students of the American Revolution will find that in *The Secret War of Independence* Helen Augur has harrowed ground well plowed by Lewis Einstein and Carl Van Doren and originally staked out by J. Franklin Jameson. This is the, by now, familiar story of Beaumarchais and Hortalez et Cie, of the Frenchman's and others' efforts to get supplies to America through the Dutch West Indies depot of St. Eustatius, of Silas Deane's heartbreaking efforts and misadventures, of Franklin's masterly diplomacy. It remains an exciting story, rich in conspiracy, espionage, and hazard and filled with such choice characters as the bumbling and treasonous Captain Joseph Hynson, the serpentine Loyalist clergyman John Vardill, and the ineffable Dr. Edward Bancroft, who successfully deceived Franklin but not George the Third. On the whole, Miss Augur's book is well constructed and narrated. Starting with the problems of empire faced by Britain after the Seven Years' War, she develops the revolutionary activities

in America, then moves to Europe by way of the West Indies, where she lingers to point out their commercial and strategic importance. She achieves her happiest results when describing the war on the seas and the diplomatic maneuvering of Deane and Franklin in France. Franklin is her hero, but the tragic Deane, skillfully delineated, stands out more clearly, while Arthur Lee, sardonic and paranoiac, is a characterization to be remembered. Though Miss Augur's work appears aimed for the general reader, it is a book to be taken seriously by the scholar. Miss Augur has done a thorough piece of research, working through the best secondary sources and manuscript collections, particularly those in the Clements Library. Given her excellent judgment and felicitous style, the account is likely to stand for some time. It is substantial, reliable, and eminently readable.

WILLARD M. WALLACE, *Wesleyan University*

WITH BEAUREGARD IN MEXICO: THE MEXICAN WAR REMINISCENCES OF P. G. T. BEAUREGARD. Edited by *T. Harry Williams*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1956, pp. ix, 116, \$5.00.) Pique, frustration, a wounded ego, a desire to justify his actions, or some such motive prompted Beauregard to record his experiences in the Mexican War. Drawing on his short diary or journal, he completed the unusually accurate account in December, 1852, but until now it has remained unpublished and generally unused. The book recounts the rather significant role of Beauregard and his fellow engineers with Scott's forces from Vera Cruz to Mexico City. It reveals an unhappy, bitter lieutenant who felt that his actions and contributions should receive official commendation above and beyond that given to his fellows. It shows a capable, ambitious individual ever ready to give advice to, and disagree with, his superiors—sometimes to the good of all. But it also indicates that Beauregard's ideas of war were completely inflexible and that he learned nothing from Scott's strategy. The volume is in good descriptive and narrative prose, sometimes vivid, occasionally fiery, but never self-deprecating. The editorial work and introduction are of superior quality. The maps and drawings add value and attractiveness to this limited edition, which should become one of the more important personal accounts of this conflict.

CHASE C. MOONEY, *Indiana University*

WATER FOR THE CITIES: A HISTORY OF THE URBAN WATER SUPPLY PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Nelson Manfred Blake*. [Maxwell School Series, Vol. III.] (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1956, pp. ix, 341, \$4.00.) It might be said that one index of urban status is the necessity of buying one's water supply. Nelson Blake's impressive little book focuses on this problem of American city dwellers from the time that the major seaboard communities were populous enough to warrant large-scale undertakings for this purpose until the present day. His major emphasis is upon the experiences of Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Baltimore to 1860, by which time these among twelve of the sixteen largest cities of the country had municipally owned water systems. Brief final chapters make passing reference to other American cities and bring the story of the four seaboard cities up to date. The transition from private to public provision of this service is the main theme of Professor Blake's story. As American cities grew, water was provided by private companies until population overtaxed the service that they were able or willing to supply. In all the cities came the demand for municipal systems; but considerations of cost, private interest, state and local politics, and even popular philosophy stood in the way. Philadelphia, after many complications, authorized municipal action in 1799. New York followed in 1835, Boston in 1844, and Baltimore in 1853. The merit and even novelty of the author's approach is his "historical" treat-

ment of the material, something that is rare in existing writing in the field of urban services. With a concern for detail that makes his exposition exhaustive without being dull, he delineates the play of business and political interest, the role of key personalities, the expression of public opinion, the contrasting administrative practices and technical problems of the individual cities, and the influence of developments in one city upon those of another. Actually, the book is a contribution to the political and social history of the four cities as well as to the history of comparative municipal administration. It occurred to this reader that the author might have made more of the Jacksonian implications of New York's recourse to popular control in 1835; and urban historians generally will wish that he had dealt with selected cities throughout the nation as fully as he did with those along the Atlantic Coast. He is nevertheless to be complimented on the readable intensiveness with which he has related the experiences of the four seaboard cities and on setting a pattern and a standard in the study of the history of urban services which it is hoped that other students of the American city will be quick to follow.

BAYRD STILL, *New York University*

YANKEE REPORTERS, 1861-65. By *Emmet Crozier*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. xii, 441, \$6.00.) An experienced newspaper reporter himself, Emmet Crozier has added another volume to the growing shelf of works dealing with Civil War reporters—three in the past three years: Bernard A. Weisberger's *Reporters for the Union*, Louis M. Starr's *Bohemian Brigade*, and J. Cutler Andrews' *The North Reports the Civil War*. In seeking "to discover the correspondents as human beings, to show them fighting the censors, the War Department, the generals, the editors, and each other," Mr. Crozier adopts the narrative approach in following individual correspondents' adventures and efforts to get "the greatest news story of the nineteenth century" reported accurately and speedily. His cast of characters features such colorful figures as Albert D. Richardson, Thomas W. Knox, Junius H. Browne, Charles C. Coffin, George W. Smalley, Henry Villard, and a host of less-well-known reporters. The escapades are innumerable; among the best, told in Crozier's admirable style, are reporter Homer Byington's repairing of five miles of broken telegraph line in order to give the world its first news of Gettysburg; Richardson's and Browne's capture at Vicksburg, lengthy imprisonment, and eventual escape from Salisbury prison; William Swinton's rapid trip northward to report for the *Times* readers the naval bombardment of Charleston; Henry Wing's race through hostile Virginia territory which landed him first in Confederate hands, then under Union arrest, and finally in the White House to report first-hand on Grant's wilderness battle to the President, who had first given assurance that the report would be transmitted to Wing's paper. This episodic approach makes for a good, suspenseful story but tends to weaken the volume's unity. The author attempts to overcome this tendency by providing transitional passages on the course of military developments. Lacking footnotes but offering a seven-page summary on sources, the book seems largely based on the files of leading Northern newspapers and the printed memoirs of the correspondents themselves, with only three manuscript collections cited. Less comprehensive than Andrews' book, more episodic than Starr's volume, less unified in stressing a thesis than Weisberger's work, *Yankee Reporters* succeeds in revealing the correspondents as "human beings" but suffers from diffusion, lack of unity, and failure to document.

DAVID LINDSEY, *Oberlin College*

BILLY SUNDAY WAS HIS REAL NAME. By *William G. McLoughlin, Jr.* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. xxix, 325, \$5.50.) With the rare combination of exciting narrative and critical evaluation, Professor McLoughlin has written a

perceptive and diverting social history of Billy Sunday and his times. The argument rests on the propositions that Protestantism, at the beginning of the twentieth century, was losing its hold on the American people, particularly in the big cities, and that the one successful figure in American life was the businessman. Orthodox creeds were disintegrating under the impact of Darwinism, and the Protestant optimism of the nineteenth century, faced with the economic and social problems of the post-Civil War industrial society, gave way to feelings and evidences of inadequacy. Onto this scene came Billy Sunday, using the methods and achieving the success of big business but preaching the optimistic ideology of the nineteenth century and directing the demands for reform into one popular panacea—prohibition. The clergy were cautious. Proud of the dignity of their high calling, they were loath to champion the showmanship and sensationalism of Sunday. But he got results, thousands and tens of thousands who hit the sawdust trail. In consequence, his appeal was considerable, both to desperate ministers and to laymen (businessmen) who measured values in terms of success. Moreover, the businessmen approved the businesslike conduct of the tabernacle campaign: the provision for finances, the promotion of attendance through lodges, clubs, business groups, the aggressive and sensational publicity and preaching, tactics adapted from the business world. They approved also the content of the preaching—the Horatio Alger theme, the equating of salvation with decency, the substitution of the handshake for the mourner's bench, the simple individualistic approach to social problems; convert a man and you would solve society's ills, including poverty, labor troubles, and "the sins of city life" (reduced to drunkenness and white slavery). All through his career Sunday was subject to criticism, not only from the more liberal clergy but from the evangelicals who were offended by his methods or who doubted the genuineness or lasting quality of his results. Skeptical clergymen, analyzing the card-signing converts, found many of them to be church members already and others only curiosity seekers. The great majority of those who were genuine converts found their way into the few large churches pastored by men whose methods were not unlike Sunday's. Professor McLoughlin's volume is a study of anxiety and exploitation, of a troubled Protestantism and of a man who possessed the gifts of exploitation peculiarly suited to the times.

ROBERT D. CLARK, *University of Oregon*

HENRY ADAMS: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Elizabeth Stevenson*. (New York, Macmillan, 1955, pp. xiv, 425, \$6.00.) For years scholars have chipped away, piece by piece, at the beguiling complexity of Henry Adams. Now a sensitive writer has produced the first substantial biography. Her work rests on earlier studies more heavily than the skimpy footnotes and noncommittal bibliography indicate, but in large measure Miss Stevenson follows her own course. She touches only lightly on the early social and intellectual background that Samuels explored. She does not attempt the intensive and precise analysis of ideas which Jordy, Baym, and others have undertaken. Instead, by distilling the human meaning from Adams' published letters and writings, she has fashioned an intensely personal document. Her main achievement is in bringing Adams to life. His relations with friends, the place of women and young people in his life, the anguish masked by his archness and pride, the covert expression of his own concerns in his most impersonal writings—these are the elements that stand out. A less sympathetic biographer might have pointed up more sharply the destructive strain in Adams' personality but might not have caught so well the contrarities within him. Miss Stevenson presents no simple pattern. Her Adams is a despairing determinist who continued to believe, an activist who played detached critic, a dogged rationalist who embraced the values of instinct. Thus the treatment of his mind, while lacking depth, benefits from common-sense intelligence and artistic sensibility. Written

in an abrupt, sometimes stabbing style, this is popular biography in the best sense. For historians, much remains undone. A social analysis of Adams' role in the new intellectual aristocracy of his day needs to be made. The big question of the man's place in the general history of American and Western thought must plague us still. As for the intimate story told in this book with judicious restraint, one regrets that the author made slight use of manuscript sources. Beringause's concurrently published study of Brooks Adams has already unveiled a little more of Henry by effectively exploiting the Adams family papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society. How much of the elder brother's life still lies hidden there we can only guess.

JOHN HIGHAM, *Rutgers University*

LIFE AND LETTERS OF MARY EMMA WOOLLEY. By *Jeannette Marks*. (Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1955, pp. vii, 300, \$3.75.) The author describes this book as "not a formal biography but informal and personal." For such a work Jeannette Marks has important qualifications, for she was a close friend of Mary E. Woolley and had access to her personal papers. For many years they shared the same home. The relationship of the author to the subject of this biography undoubtedly adds to the intimacy of the portrait she paints, but it lessens the work's objectivity and contributes to absence of proportion in treating various phases of the subject's life. Thus in her strong sympathy with Mary E. Woolley's contest with the Mount Holyoke trustees over the sex of her successor, the account is entirely from the viewpoint of Miss Woolley. The space devoted to this struggle is quite out of proportion to that devoted to Miss Woolley's tenure of over thirty-five years as president. Again, the decade of Miss Woolley's life after her retirement is recounted much more amply than are many earlier years during which the events on which her reputation would rest were taking place. Stylistically, the work leaves much to be desired. Persons and groups are brought into the narrative without prior identification. Sometimes insufficient information is given and the reader finds it difficult to follow events being described. Mary E. Woolley's claims to remembrance lie in the fact that she was one of a small group of able women who headed distinguished American colleges, in her leadership of the moderate proponents of greater opportunities for her sex, and in her activities for world peace. The assessment of her accomplishments in these areas and the placing of all of these activities within the context of the times of which they were parts remain as fruitful tasks for the biographer of Mary E. Woolley.

FREDERICK H. JACKSON, *Greens Farms, Connecticut*

ENOCH H. CROWDER: SOLDIER, LAWYER, AND STATESMAN. By *David A. Lockmiller*. [University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XXVII.] (Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 1955, pp. 286, \$5.00.) Enoch H. Crowder was one of the first of that kind of army administrator now so essential to our modern military establishment. A graduate of West Point in 1881, he resisted the easy road to stagnation in the day when the army was a backwater. He took a law degree while on duty at the University of Missouri, entered the Judge Advocate General's department, and by a combination of ability, great industry, and skillful cultivation of influential people managed to be the first officer of his class to become a general. By 1917 he had made a considerable reputation by his performance in what were essentially tasks of civil administration—secretary to the military governor of the Philippines, acting minister of state and justice with Charles E. Magoon in Cuba, and representative of the United States at the Fourth Pan-American Conference at Buenos Aires. As Judge Advocate General (appointed 1911), he had been instrumental in the revision of the Articles of War and the army penal system. Such experience prepared him well for his best-remembered

work, devising and administering the Selective Service system during the First World War. Based on this professional soldier's appreciation of the democratic processes of consent and self-government, the measure was readily accepted by a people who had so keenly resented the far less drastic draft law of 1863. Professor Lockmiller, a university president trained both in history and the law, has made an important contribution to our understanding of how the United States has successfully undertaken an enormous expansion of the military establishment within the framework of the democratic ideology. This is a solid book, although not a distinguished one. The research has been thorough, and the editing excellent. The book's chief fault is that the author has permitted himself to become too much the friend and advocate of his subject. The format and binding of the "University of Missouri Studies" series should be improved.

LOUIS G. GEIGER, *University of North Dakota*

THE JAZZ AGE REVISITED: BRITISH CRITICISM OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION DURING THE 1920's. By *George Harmon Knoles*. [Stanford University Publications, University Series, History, Economics, and Political Science, Vol. XI.] (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1955, pp. vii, 171, \$3.00.) Another volume must now be balanced on the rapidly rising column of studies dedicated to determining just how stands the Republic in the eyes of the rest of the world. Professor George Knoles, pondering with care some one hundred books on the United States, plus a handful of articles and other items, has sought to record what *some* Britons thought about America's world role, her civilization, character, society, institutions, and culture in that decade of the twenties when, Professor Knoles argues, many current Old World attitudes toward America were formulated. Out of the observations of journalists, novelists, scientists, military men, physicians, historians, educators, clergymen, he has arranged a British portrait of America in the twenties that ranges on the one hand from serious analysis of our industrial progress to amused comment about the American flapper. And from the observations of a small variety of the uninformed, the vicious as well as the harmless, the author has skillfully extracted as well a minor portrait of America that ranges, as an infamous wit once said, from the ridiculous to the slime. My only criticism of Professor Knoles's approach is that I think it would have more perspective if he had arranged these observations and comments into some kind of pattern set against the background of British life and society during the same decade. Nevertheless he has made a valuable, well-written contribution to an important area of study, and in particular he has, by adding on to the work of Heindel and others, helped much to fill in the emerging picture of British ideas and attitudes about America in the twentieth century. If we have more studies such as these, it will not be long before someone can put together the whole story, and perhaps that someone will be George Knoles.

G. D. LILLIBRIDGE, *Chico State College*

YALE: COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY, 1871-1937. Volume II, YALE: THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, 1921-1937. By *George Wilson Pierson*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1955, pp. xviii, 740, \$6.00.) Sixteen years in the life of one part of a single university; almost seven hundred pages of text, notes, and tables! The fact that such a ratio of subject matter to words has not resulted in fussy antiquarianism demonstrates the merit as history that a book on education can possess when the treatment of details meets the highest standards of historical scholarship and interpretation. The term "university college" in the title may give a false impression to some readers. The phrase as Professor Pierson uses it refers neither to a probationary status between collegiate and university standing nor to that arm of a university which reaches out

to adults in the evening, but rather to an undergraduate institution which has given birth to a university without dying in the act of bearing children. At the end of the first volume of Professor Pierson's history of Yale College since 1871, it was clear that the college was to live in the presence of many graduate and professional interests; but the nature of settled coexistence was left in doubt. The second volume describes the process—always complicated, often frustrating to reformers and conservatives alike, but never stopped dead—which established the character of Yale College as an institution standing not beside an inchoate university but within a mature one. In particular the account of the Harkness benefaction and of the college system which it made financially possible is a fresh and candid study of one of the ways by which the college moved into its new position. As the author is not afraid to tackle the subtleties and intangibles of academic life, he succeeds brilliantly in working down to a place beneath the tantalizing paradox of conservatism and growth. Fortunately, neither detachment of mind nor vivacity of style is sacrificed to the other.

RICHARD J. STORR, *University of Chicago*

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT AND THE UNIONS, 1900-1932: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS. By *Milton J. Nadworny*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955, pp. vii, 187, \$3.75.) "Without doubt," writes Dr. Nadworny, "the effects of more than twenty years of mutual contact, hostility, and friendship between the management and labor movements exerted a strong influence on the development of the American trade union movement and industrial management programs." There are grounds for asking whether organized labor and the movement for scientific management set in motion more than fifty years ago by Frederick Winslow Taylor were as strongly influenced by their interaction as the author suggests. And his contention that American unionism during the 1920's "was fundamentally influenced by a scientific management movement that was revised and given new direction by the Taylor Society leaders" invites argument. The more significant changes in trade unionism during that decade—and very few of them can be called "fundamental"—seem to be the product of other developments. These and one or two other central conclusions of Dr. Nadworny's study appear somewhat forced in the light of the evidence he presents. This shortcoming, however, is heavily outweighed by the virtues of his monograph, for it makes a real contribution to an understanding of the increasingly positive orientation of organized labor, reflected in changes in institutional behavior as well as in attitudes toward the problems of industrial productivity. In doing this, it also sheds light on the indifference, if not the antipathy, with which industrial management responded to Taylor's ideas. Solidly grounded in a thorough examination of the primary sources, Dr. Nadworny's modest volume provides the most incisive account there is of the response of individual unions and of the American Federation of Labor as a whole to the key ideas of Taylorism, both in their original form and their later modifications. The initial unqualified repudiation by the unions of time and motion studies and other aspects of Taylorism; the significance of the Eastern Rate Case of 1910-1911; union resistance to the introduction of scientific management methods in government arsenals and navy yards; the investigation of scientific management by Robert F. Hoxie for the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations in 1914; the emergence of a group within the Taylor movement, in which Robert Valentine and Morris L. Cooke were notable, which accepted unionism and collective bargaining; and the new and sympathetic interest in production and industrial engineering evidenced by unions after World War I—these and other facets of the subject are treated in detail and with balance. Dr. Nadworny's study does not go beyond 1932, but it has current relevance for issues which engage the newly merged labor

movement, and it helps one understand why "time and motion" and the "stop watch" were of moment in the 156-day-long Westinghouse strike settled earlier this year.

HENRY DAVID, *Columbia University*

THE ECONOMIC THOUGHT OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND THE ORIGINS OF THE NEW DEAL. By *Daniel R. Fusfeld*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 586.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1956, pp. 337, \$5.00.) A historical tradition has grown up since 1933 that Franklin D. Roosevelt knew little about economics and consequently most of the significant New Deal reforms were inspired and authored by his advisers. This opinion was first put into print by Frances Perkins; it was accepted and strengthened by the works of Broadus Mitchell, George Soule, and Richard Hofstadter. Professor Fusfeld, an economist, denies the truth of the tradition and in this scholarly volume comes to opposite conclusions. From a study of Roosevelt's life up to 1933 he shows that F.D.R. had good academic training in economics, that continued reading and study after graduation steadily broadened his economic perspectives, and that a good portion of the New Deal economic program was foreshadowed in Roosevelt's thoughts or actions at one time or another in his pre-presidential career. During the Wilson administrations and the twenties Roosevelt supported the concepts of deficit spending, regional planning, the yardstick method of controlling private profits, and the idea of the "harmony of interests" between contesting economic groups. While governor of New York Roosevelt advocated social security, extensive government relief, public power projects, and labor's right to organize and bargain collectively. In the opinion of the reviewer Professor Fusfeld has proved his point and has done it with discrimination and intelligence. If the feeling persists that the author occasionally has overlooked evidence pointing in a contradictory direction, that is perhaps understandable from the nature of the book. The volume is based upon those parts of the Roosevelt manuscripts now open to researchers, upon other available manuscript sources, and an adequate number of newspapers and periodicals. It is well organized and well written.

GEORGE E. MOWRY, *University of California, Los Angeles*

THE MAKING OF CHARLES A. BEARD: AN INTERPRETATION. By *Mary Ritter Beard*, with chapters by *Arthur W. Macmahon* and *George Radin* and reports from Japanese correspondents. (New York, Exposition Press, 1955, pp. 104, \$3.00.) Not an interpretation at all, except that it contains Arthur Macmahon's already twice-published essay on Beard as a teacher, this slender memorial volume includes twenty-eight pages of sketches by Mrs. Beard, thirty-five pages of reports by Japanese public administrators about work in which Beard was interested, and a brief account by George Radin of Beard's Yugoslav experiences.

ROBERT E. BURKE, *University of California, Berkeley*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1800-1840. By William A.
Sullivan. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1955, pp.
vii, 253, \$3.25.) The value of Dr. Sullivan's contribution to American labor history
lies in the very modesty of his avowed purpose. By cultivating intensely a relatively
small section of the field, he has added notably to what were the pioneering, and
are now classic, labors of John Commons and his associates. Both text and footnotes,
as well as an ample bibliography, give evidence of an exhaustive use of local business
records, newspaper files, and published materials, and comprise an account which,
while not exciting to read and perhaps overlaid with minutiae, is yet a substantial
treatment of the chosen time, place, and theme. The resulting concentration on
industrial and labor trends in early nineteenth-century Pennsylvania tends to isolate
them from similar ones developing simultaneously elsewhere, and may foster an
unintended impression of uniqueness. The industrial pattern of this keystone state

was, however, broadly representative of traditional crafts as well as the new factories, and reached from Philadelphia, already a major industrial city, across the rural coal and iron areas, to the frontier community of Pittsburgh. Significantly, this record of working conditions in Pennsylvania echoes those in contemporary England, as made familiar by the Hammonds and the Webbs. Despite his self-imposed limitations, Dr. Sullivan has covered a wide range of topics reflecting the transitional diversity of industrial, labor, and social developments. Here are pictured in minute detail the trade unions and strike activities of craftsmen striving to maintain their status and also the rudimentary beginnings of labor organization and strife among unskilled wage-earners. There is an extensive treatment of the first workingmen's party movement in Pennsylvania during the 1820's. Especially noteworthy is the evidence challenging the conventional conception of the Jacksonian character of these political activities. Instead they are presented as the essentially artificial effort of professional politicians to link labor sentiment with anti-Jacksonian objectives. A brief closing chapter on social reform illustrates further the discrepancy between the vague aspiration and lack of concrete program or power on the part of labor in Pennsylvania prior to 1840.

SAMUEL REZNECK, *Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE BARBER OF NATCHEZ. By Edwin Adams Davis and William Ransom Hogan. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1954, pp. 272, \$4.00.) The two authors of this readable biography of William Johnson, the free Negro barber of Natchez, have once more made a valuable contribution to southern history. Their edition of Johnson's diary, *William Johnson's Natchez* (Baton Rouge, 1951), made available the only known extant diary of a free Negro in the ante-bellum South (see *AHR*, October, 1951, p. 173). Johnson, caught in the rigid caste system of the South, operated largely in that nebulous world between the Negro slave and the white planter. No ordinary man, however, Johnson rose, from his emancipation in 1821 to his death in 1851, to a substantial business position in Natchez, through his tonsorial artistry acquired a select trade, and eventually owned slaves, farms, and rental property. As his diary shows, he was a gifted observer and interpreter of the passing scene, a shrewd analyst of the mores of his community. Instead of picturing his customers, who were largely the more prosperous landed gentry, as the wealthy aristocratic planters still too often portrayed through the traditional stereotypes of a Thomas Nelson Page or a Thomas Dixon, the sympathetic barber saw them as the contradictory persons they were. There was plenty of brawling, turbulent, lusty energy in this group, and Johnson's description of their actions at the hustings, barbecues, fights, theater, and races provides an excellent source of information on this phase of their lives. Equally penetrating are his analyses of their love affairs, weddings, deaths, their hopes, generosities, and sorrows. No family records of the Minors, McAlisters, Bingamans, Blackburns, Surgets, or Marshalls could have provided the insight and informa-

tion possessed by diarist Johnson. *The Barber of Natchez* gives the feel of the man and his world, which included not only the planter but the slave, the free Negro, the town policeman, the volunteer fireman, the jockeys, the riverboatmen, and others. It represents a happy combination of competence, skill, and learning on the part of the authors and intelligent recorded opinion on the part of the biographee. The work of such men as Davis and Hogan strikes the balance between the romanticists and the modern abolitionist historians. BENNETT H. WALL, *University of Kentucky*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

TO THE ROCKIES AND OREGON, 1839–1842: WITH DIARIES AND ACCOUNTS BY SIDNEY SMITH, AMOS COOK, JOSEPH HOLMAN, E. WILLARD SMITH, FRANCIS FLETCHER, JOSEPH WILLIAMS, OBADIAH OAKLEY, ROBERT SHORTESS, T. J. FARNHAM. Edited, and with Analytical Notes, by *LeRoy R. Hafen*, Professor of History, Brigham Young University, and *Ann W. Hafen*. [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820–1875, Vol. III.] (Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark, 1955, pp. 315, \$9.50.) "The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820–1875" promises to do for that region what Thwaites's *Early Western Travels* did for the Mississippi Valley. When the fifteen volumes are completed there will be on the shelves the best collection of source material on the Far West that has ever been published. In the present volume appear the diaries and accounts of the six members of the Peoria party who started to Oregon from Peoria, Illinois, in 1839 after having heard the missionary Jason Lee lecture in their community; the diary of educated E. Willard Smith, who went out the Santa Fe Trail, across the mountains to Green River, and back by way of the Platte, making the first recorded trip of a boat ride down that river; the diary of a Methodist minister, Joseph Williams, who, with the first party of emigrants, went over the Oregon Trail in 1841. There are also four brief appendixes of explanatory material and a map showing the routes of each of the travelers. Two of the accounts have never been published before and the others are taken from obscure files or rare published materials. These records show in silhouette the beginnings of the great emigration to Oregon. The accounts of the Peoria party vary in quality and duplicate each other considerably. Only two of these six travelers tell little that is new and worth while, even if the group did split and take different directions. The diary of the minister, Joseph Williams, telling of his trip from Indiana to Oregon and back via Western Colorado and Taos, is the most illuminating account even if it is written by a man who sees only a sinful world about him. The careful editing of the Hafen team has provided not only adequate explanatory footnotes but also a general introduction to the materials and specific introductions to each separate emigrating group.

WALKER D. WYMAN, *Wisconsin State College, River Falls*

MEN AND TRADE ON THE NORTHWEST FRONTIER AS SHOWN BY THE FORT OWEN LEDGER. Edited with an Introduction by *George F. Weisel*. [Montana State University Studies, Vol. II.] (Missoula, Montana State University Press, 1955, pp. xxxix, 291.) Montana scholars frequently perform commendable acts of supererogation when they forgo publishing interpretative syntheses and give priority to editions of source materials important to fellow historians. The Fort Owen ledger,

kept by Major John Owen at his Bitterroot Valley post from 1850 to 1860 and by his successor, Washington J. McCormick, from 1876 to 1880, was found by the editor at the Missoula residence of the latter trader. The date of the discovery is not given. Sound techniques were skillfully employed in editing this document. Since individual accounts in the ledger are neither in chronological nor any other logical order, they are arranged here in time sequence and preceded by short biographical sketches of the customers. A sketch of Major McCormick and a list of his patrons with the years of the entries cover the period he kept the ledger. Naturally there is no conformity either in length or degree of interest between a sketch and its pertinent account entry. One might be several pages; the other a few lines. An eminent person may have had a small and commonplace account, whereas a comparative unknown may have done a large and revealing business. Names of soldiers, mountain men, half-breeds, travelers, cattlemen, settlers—people of all degrees of importance, personal force, and virtue—appear in the ledger. So do the various articles of trade: tobacco, flour, sugar, coffee, matches, cotton goods, to mention only a few, and the price for each. One is struck by the degree to which trade was conducted by means of bookkeeping and by the relatively small amounts of currency which changed hands. The metamorphosis of the Rocky Mountain frontier since the late fur trade period is mirrored in this book. Excellent background material, appendixes, and a full index add substantially to its usefulness.

HERMANN J. DEUTSCH, *State College of Washington*

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Latin-American History

Rollie E. Poppino¹

GENERAL

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¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

COLONIAL PERIOD

THE UNIVERSITY IN THE KINGDOM OF GUATEMALA. By *John Tate Lanning*. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1955, pp. xviii, 331, \$5.75.) For the past twenty-five years, Professor John Tate Lanning has been doing for the colonial Latin-American universities what Rashdall did for those of the Middle Ages. With this latest volume, Lanning is one step nearer his goal—a general history of the Spanish universities in America. Here he describes, and describes well, the operation of the colonial University of San Carlos de Guatemala, which actually serves “as a cross-section of university culture as it was in the Spanish Indies.” He treats his subject under three main headings. The first relates the vicissitudes surrounding the founding of the university; the second recounts in detail academic organization and life. The final section treats of financial difficulties, the moving of the university, the library, and the deplorable state of the university in 1821. Professor Lanning has written his book almost entirely from unpublished archival materials, and it is evident that he has lived with his documents and knows them thoroughly. In interpreting these sources, he writes with a vivid style. And by weaving into his fabric a number of the more colorful academic personalities, he creates considerable interest. A central theme runs through the work—academic frustration caused by the crown’s policy of vacillation and delay, abetted by several thousand miles of water. Medievalists, as well as Latin-American historians, will find this work of value. San Carlos was little more than a colonial replica of thirteenth-century Salamanca. And because of the abundance of sources for the former, many obscure points in medieval university history become clearer. A case in point is Lanning’s excellent discussion of the examination for degrees. Although the work lacks a bibliography, it contains a helpful glossary, a good index, and a number of pertinent illustrations. It is unlikely that a better book on the subject will be written.

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THE MISSION FRONTIER IN SONORA, 1620–1687. By *John Francis Bannon, S.J.* [United States Catholic Historical Society, Monograph Series, XXVI.] (New York, the Society, 1955, pp. vii, 160.) Inspired by Herbert E. Bolton and devotion to their Society, the Jesuits are gradually rounding out the story of the missions of the Company of Jesus in New Spain. They have few more capable writers than the author of this monograph on Sonora. Father Bannon here delves into the early history of Sonora, Mexico. He justly contends that the Jesuits in New Spain “accomplished a work equal in scope and magnificence to that more publicised achievement of their . . . brethren in Paraguay.” “Their churches,” he declares, “dot the valleys of Sinaloa and Sonora, and the descendants of their Christians still cling to the faith planted several hundred years ago. . . . Black robe and frontier soldier made it possible. Spain, too, merits credit for supporting a colonial policy broad enough to embrace . . . Indian souls, as well as Indian bodies” (p. 142). Father Bannon has made a contribution to anthropology and sociology along with his contribution to the history of Roman Catholic missions among the natives of the New World. The native Christian population of Sonora in 1678 exceeded twenty thousand. Many villages of Spaniards, Indians, and mestizos grew up around the mission centers. Using these as bases of supply, the Jesuits moved into Arizona and Lower California and were ready to advance into Alta California at the time (1767) they were expelled from Spanish overseas dominions.

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NATIONAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

THE CARIBBEAN: ITS CULTURE. Edited by *A. Curtis Wilgus*. [School of Inter-American Studies, Series I, Vol. V.] (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1955, pp. xxvi, 277, \$4.00.) Conferences of the type held annually at the University of Florida are probably more significant for the widening of associations than for the spread of knowledge. The second function of such conferences is somewhat restricted by their *ad hoc* nature. Invited to take part in them shortly before they are held, each participant is likely to deal with the subject of his most recent investigation or current special interest. Fully aware of this limitation, Professor Wilgus observes in his introduction: "The papers in this volume . . . do not cover every cultural topic, nor do they pretend to exhaust the subjects which they treat. Each individual has presented material which is of special individual interest. And, as in all symposiums, many hiatuses exist in subject matter." Culture, as defined in this publication, embraces little more than the fine arts, education, religion, and a few cultural concepts. Besides the editor's introduction, the volume includes twenty short papers, the longest of them concerned with "Sources for the Study of Caribbean Culture." They will be appraised by each reader largely in accord with his interests. Evaluated on this basis, those likely to be considered of most interest and significance to specialists are the following: "Two Aspects of Caribbean Art" by Florence Arquin, a Chicago artist and lecturer; "Contemporary Caribbean Composers" by Joaquín Nin-Culmell, department of music, the University of California; "Essayists in the Caribbean" by Aníbal Sánchez-Reulet, of the staff of the Pan American Union; three essays on the place of religion, one by a Protestant and two by Roman Catholics; four contributions dealing with education, all presented by distinguished educators; a paper by a journalist dealing frankly with problems of freedom of the press; and a well-balanced survey by Dr. Kenneth Holland, president of the Institute of International Education, of the history of cultural relations in the Americas, in which he stresses the individual rather than the international benefits of the program. Professor Wilgus deserves congratulation both for his introductory essay and for the attractive format and the typographical accuracy of the volume. His hope that it will convey a better understanding of the civilization of the Caribbean is well founded; but there is still need for a more thorough investigation of the struggle for mass education in these countries, a need which will not be met until a detailed exploration of the history and contemporary state of public education has been made. This is a project which should be financed over a period of four or five years by governments and foundations, and its findings might well be presented to another conference sponsored by the University of Florida's School of Inter-American Studies.

J. FRED RIPPY, *University of Chicago*

THE TUGWELL ADMINISTRATION IN PUERTO RICO, 1941-1946. By *Enrique Lugo-Silva*, Associate Professor, University of Puerto Rico. (Río Piedras, P.R., Editorial Cultura, 1955, pp. 185.) Professor Lugo-Silva's sympathetic, descriptive study of the Tugwell administration in Puerto Rico facilitates a rational evaluation of one of the island's crisis periods. The section on historical background (1897-1940) portrays the setting out of which Tugwell's "Little New Deal" evolved. The story of the

rise of the Popular Democratic party and of Tugwell's appointment clearly outlines the basic data. After discussing Tugwell's political policy, social and economic conditions, and the agricultural trends of 1941-1946, the study closes with an anthology of criticism, pro and con. The immediate usefulness of the bibliography is somewhat lessened by failure to follow accepted forms of citation of legal decisions and public documents. The list of Governor Tugwell's activities in relation to Puerto Rico after he left the governorship could include his address on "Caribbean Obligations" at the Second Conference on the Caribbean of the University of Florida's School of Inter-American Studies (1951). Little is said about education, public health, transportation, and communication, which in the opinion of this reviewer, who lived on the island during four fifths of Tugwell's administration, deserve more attention. The book remains the best historical coverage to date of this dynamic period in the Commonwealth's history and deserves a place in every collection dealing with contemporary Puerto Rico.

FREDERICK E. KIDDER, *University of Florida*

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SOUTH AMERICA

RAICES DEL BRASIL. By Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. Translated from the Portuguese by Ernestina de Champourcin. [Colección Tierra Firme, 58.] (Mexico, D.F., Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1955, pp. 182.) As the Spanish translation of the second Brazilian edition, this book needs neither description nor explanation here, but it does provoke two comments. One is reiteration of praise I have offered the Fondo before this on other Brazilian books it has translated and given circulation in Spanish America. Gradually, some of the best interpretations of Brazil by Brazilians are entering Spanish-American historiography. This is a good thing. Up until fairly recent times, the Spanish Americans have almost entirely lacked information in their own language about Brazil and, consequently, they have quite reasonably been inclined to think of Brazil in Spanish-American terms, if at all. With this translation, another step has been taken toward providing some light and fresh material. Perhaps soon Brazilians will follow this path toward equal curiosity about the Spanish Americans.

The second comment is on the book itself, for its place among historians is becoming more clearly defined. I rank it next to *Casa grande e senzala* at the head of the few books that have changed the direction of Brazilian historiographical and other thought since about 1922. And yet it is no more of a formal history than is *Casa grande*. It is the insight of a historian into the institutions and cultural growth that explain how Brazil came to be. Its influence on historiographical thought in the United States is growing as it should, not as a monograph but as a suggestion of perspectives bringing light especially to the interpretation of recent Brazilian history.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT, *Vanderbilt University*

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¹ Includes books, except those to be reviewed, received from January 15 to April 15, 1956.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

The 1956 meeting of the Association will be held at the Hotel Jefferson in St. Louis, Missouri, December 28-30. The Council will meet December 27.

Other Historical Activities

Material dating from the eighteenth to the twentieth century has been added to the collection placed in the Library of Congress on long-term deposit by the Naval Historical Foundation. Twenty papers, dating from 1795 to 1845, of Josiah Fox, a naval architect (d. 1847), include letters he received from Secretaries of the Navy Benjamin Stoddert, Robert Smith, and George Bancroft. The papers of Captain Horace Bucklin Sawyer (1797-1860), who served as a midshipman on board the *Constitution*, are composed of forty-one letters he received between 1813 and 1838. Some forty-five papers of Commodore James Barron (1769-1851) cover the years 1831-1849, while he was serving as commanding officer of the Philadelphia Navy Yard. A nineteenth-century manuscript is a fourteen-page typescript account of the sinking of the U.S.S. *Charleston* off Camiguin Island in the Philippines, on November 2, 1899, as related many years later by R. W. Konter, a member of the crew. A group of papers of Commander Arthur Stanley Riggs, numbering about 650 pieces, is primarily concerned with his work as editor and author and includes correspondence, 1946-1952, and an unpublished study of Sir Francis Drake.

The papers of Albert Kendrick Fisher (1856-1948), one of the founders of the U. S. Biological Survey, have been given to the Library by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Walter K. Fisher. The papers, numbering about 7,500 pieces, contain notes, scrapbooks, material on field trips and the fight for game laws and conservation. Included in the correspondence are letters from Gifford Pinchot (dated from 1910 to 1941), C. Hart Merriam, Edgar A. Mearns, Louis Agassiz Fuertes, Alexander Wetmore, Frank M. Chapman, and many others.

The papers of Samuel Whittemore Boggs, late geographer of the Department of State, 1924-1954, have been given by Mrs. Boggs. They number about 4,000 pieces and consist of correspondence, articles, reports, notes, and manuscripts.

The papers of Oscar Terry Crosby (1861-1947), Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under President Wilson, public utility executive, early and persistent proponent of a world federation and an international police force, explorer, and author, have been given to the Library by his daughter, Mrs. Celeste Crosby Miller. Though limited in size (about 1,500 items), the collection reflects Mr. Crosby's versatility and range of interests. Materials range in time from 1878 to about 1944 and in type from two journals on a trip to Africa in 1900 to articles,

notes, and correspondence on such topics as the League of Nations, internationalism, the gold standard, electrical experiments, public utilities, and the "South African Problem." The bulk of the correspondence reflects Mr. Crosby's concerted efforts in the interest of international law and order. There are about 100 letters from Lord David Davies, of England; other correspondents include Ray Stannard Baker, James T. Shotwell, A. Lawrence Lowell, Hamilton Holt, Roger Babson, John C. Corliss, Harry A. Garfield, John Bassett Moore, and William E. Dodd.

The papers of the late Mary Church Terrell (1863-1954), noted Negro leader, educator, author, and lecturer, have been presented to the Library of Congress by her daughter. Covering her career from 1897 to 1954, the collection includes more than 14,000 manuscripts of correspondence, scrapbooks, newspaper clippings, articles, speeches, photographs, and miscellaneous printed material, as well as the handwritten draft and typescript copy of her autobiography, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (1940).

The Honorable Julius A. Krug has given approximately 20,000 of his papers. These cover the years he was with the Federal Communications Commission, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the War Production Board (1942-45), as well as the period he served as Secretary of the Interior in President Truman's cabinet (1946-49). In addition to an extensive correspondence, the papers contain various memorandums, addresses, and articles.

The Library of Congress has received a grant from the Ford Foundation for microfilming certain documents in foreign archives, with emphasis on unpublished checklists, catalogues, and indexes to important source materials. The Committee for Documentary Reproduction of the American Historical Association, which has long co-operated with the Library in similar work, has been asked to assist the Library in this project by recruiting scholars who are applying for Fulbright grants or who intend to apply for them. Those who are seeking Fulbright grants and who will be able to make use of archives abroad are asked to write to the chairman of the Committee for Documentary Reproduction, Robert Eckles of the Department of History at Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, giving particulars of their proposals and indicating their willingness to undertake the supervision of a microfilming project to be approved by the Library of Congress and the committee. Approval of requests is followed by letters of recommendation from the Library of Congress and the committee to the authorities who make decisions on the research scholarships. Projects for the current year have been approved for Finland, France, Italy, and Japan.

Additional microfilms received in 1955 by the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library at St. Louis (see *AHR*, October, 1955, p. 246) have brought the total holdings up to some 664,000 feet of film representing about 8,632,000 manuscript pages. The Vatican Library collections from which materials were added

are the Barberini, Borghese, Borgia, Chigi, Palatine, Regina, and Urbino collections; and the Archivio di San Pietro.

The Weltkriegsbücherei, founded in 1915, has been reactivated in Stuttgart, Germany, under the name Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte. Those parts of its large holdings of books, periodicals, pamphlets, pictures, etc., on modern history that survived the war are again open to the public and being augmented by new purchases and gifts. Its periodical, *Bücherschau der Weltkriegsbücherei*, again appears quarterly. The series of special bibliographies is also being revived. Many of the earlier publications are still in stock. Scholars or institutions interested in the collection or publications of the Bibliothek should communicate with Dr. Erwin Weis, Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte, Urbanstrasse 19, Stuttgart-O, Germany.

One of the difficulties of the many excellent Scandinavian historians has been that much of their work has not, because of language difficulties, reached other historians. In 1950 the Publications Commission of the International Committee of Historical Sciences discussed the desirability and possibilities of publishing summaries in English, French, and German of important works in the Danish, Finnish, Norwegian, and Swedish languages. As a result of these discussions and thanks to a grant from UNESCO and to grants from private funds and from the governments of the Scandinavian countries, the first volume of a biennial publication, *Excerpta Historica Nordica*, has now appeared (Copenhagen, Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1955). Edited by Povl Bagge of Copenhagen and others, this volume contains summaries, as a rule written by the authors themselves, of work published in 1950-1953. Most of the summaries are in English.

The National Archives has recently issued the following "Preliminary Inventories": No. 90, *Records of the United States Antarctic Service*, compiled by Charles E. Dewing and Laura E. Kelsay; No. 91, *Cartographic Records of the Panama Canal*, compiled by James Berton Rhoads; No. 92, *Records of the Office for Emergency Management*, compiled by Henry T. Ulasek.

A survey of investigations in progress in the field of Latin-American studies is being sponsored jointly by the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Pan American Union and the School of Inter-American Studies of the University of Florida at Gainesville. Scholars and researchers who may have investigations under way connected with Latin America and who have not received questionnaires through the mail are urged to request them from the School of Inter-American Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, in order that the published results of the survey may be as complete as possible. Distribution of the completed survey is scheduled for early fall.

An advisory committee on medieval studies has been formed at Yale University to counsel and assist graduate students wishing to broaden their knowl-

edge of the medieval period as a whole. Instruction is offered in the following fields: Arabic civilization, English literature, Far Eastern civilization, Germanic and Celtic literatures, history, history of art, history of music, history of the theater, Latin literature and palaeography, legal history, philosophy and religion, romance literatures, and Slavic languages. There are no regular programs leading to graduate degrees in medieval studies, but the department of history and other relevant departments are prepared to accept candidates for the doctoral degree with a specialization in medieval studies and a program emphasizing interdepartmental training in the Middle Ages.

The third meeting of specialists conducting the History of America Project of the Commission on History, Pan American Institute of Geography and History, was held in Washington, D.C., March 26–28, 1956. The meeting was co-sponsored by the Commission, the Library of Congress, and the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Pan American Union. Initiated by the Commission on History in 1951 for the purpose of studying the problem of writing an integrated history of the Americas, this project has been carried out with the aid of grants from the Rockefeller Foundation by a staff headed by the Commission's chairman, Dr. Silvio Zavala of Mexico. In the interest of greater efficiency the project was divided into three main sections, two chronological and the other topical, each with its own sub-director: the colonial period, under Dr. Zavala; the national period, under Dr. Charles C. Griffin of Vassar College; and the Indians of America, from their pre-Columbian origins to the twentieth century, under Dr. Pedro Armillas of Mexico. The work of each of the three sections has been carried forward autonomously, and co-ordination has been provided mainly by the director and by three meetings of staff members and special advisers. At the first meeting (Havana, 1953), preliminary reports on special aspects of the problem were considered; fourteen of these have been published by the Commission on History in booklet form (ten on the Indians of America and four each on the colonial and national periods), with the aid of a subvention from the Cuban Commission on the Centenary of José Martí. On this basis each of the three sub-directors then prepared a consolidated draft report for his section. At the second meeting (held in 1954 in two parts, one in New York City, the other in Mexico City), these draft reports were subjected to searching analysis and criticism, in the light of which they were subsequently revised. The revised texts, and the use to be made of them, were the subject of discussion at the third meeting in Washington on March 26–28, 1956. At this meeting the heart of the discussion lay not so much in the details of the revised drafts as in certain general questions. One of the latter was the relation of the view of the history of the Americas emerging from this project to the "Bolton thesis" (the interpretation of the history of the Americas presented by the late Herbert Eugene Bolton). Another was whether the project as it has developed to date does not overemphasize the Indian factor in American history as compared with other factors, particularly the European and

the Negro. A question of major importance was raised by the great diversity that marks the three reports, which differ widely from one another not only in length but also in their whole approach to the problem. In the end, however, it was decided that this diversity was not only permissible but even desirable in view of the original purpose of the project, which was to study the problem of writing the history of the Americas, and a vote of congratulations to Dr. Zavala and his staff was unanimously adopted. Accordingly, the meeting expressed itself in favor of the earliest possible publication of the three reports and also of a summary of the results of the whole project to be prepared by Dr. Zavala. This summary is to be completed and circulated in time for use at a session on the History of America Project which will form part of the program of the American Historical Association's annual meeting at St. Louis in December, 1956. In addition to Dr. Zavala, who presided, and Sub-Directors Armillas and Griffin, the active participants included ten "collaborators" and more than a score of other scholars, who represented all the principal areas (Canada, the United States, and Latin America) and most of the social science disciplines (principally history and anthropology, but also geography and economics).

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its forty-ninth annual meeting in Pittsburgh, April 19-21. Papers read at the twenty-six sessions will be summarized in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Among the officers elected for the coming year are Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky, president, and Wendell H. Stephenson, University of Oregon, vice-president. James C. Olson resigned as secretary-treasurer. The 1957 meeting of the association will be held in Lincoln, Nebraska, next spring.

The second annual Conference on French History was held at the University of Pennsylvania on February 3 and 4 with about seventy-five persons attending. At the business session the members of the conference voted to form a permanent organization to be called the Society for French Historical Studies. Beatrice Hyslop of Hunter College was elected president; Father Joseph N. Moody of Cathedral College, New York City, vice-president; and David H. Pinkney of the University of Missouri, secretary-treasurer. The 1957 meeting will be held in New York early in February. Persons interested in joining the organization and in receiving announcements of its activities should write to Professor Pinkney, care of the Department of History, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

A conference on "France in the Mississippi Valley" was held at Washington University, St. Louis, on February 15, 1956. The conference was sponsored by the College of Liberal Arts of Washington University, the Beaumont Foundation, the Missouri Historical Society, and the St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation. About 250 persons attended.

The second Conference on Early American History was held at the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Boston, on March 31. At the morning session Samuel

Eliot Morison spoke on new opportunities for research in the later history of Plymouth Colony, and in the afternoon Wilbur R. Jacobs of the University of California at Santa Barbara read a paper on the letters of Francis Parkman.

The spring meeting of the Conference on British Studies was held on April 14, 1956, in New York. Louis B. Wright of the Folger Shakespeare Library read a paper entitled "The British Tradition in America." Professor Richard B. Morris of Columbia University and Professor Charles Ritcheson of Kenyon College served as commentators.

Under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council an interuniversity summer seminar is being held at Duke University from June 4 to July 28, 1956, on "Isolation and Collective Security in Twentieth-Century American Diplomacy." The participating scholars and their research topics include: William R. Allen of the University of California (Los Angeles), "Cordell Hull, Foreign Policy, and the Defense of the Trade Agreements Program, 1934-1941"; Richard N. Current, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, "The Idea of Collective Security"; Alexander DeConde, Duke University, "The Idea of Isolation and the Ideas of Historians"; Robert H. Ferrell, Indiana University, "The Organized Peace Movement, 1918-1939; William L. Neumann, Goucher College, "Ambivalence and Dissonance in American Thought on the Far East"; Kenneth W. Thompson, Rockefeller Foundation, "Theoretical Foundations of Isolationism and Collective Security"; J. Chalmers Vinson, University of Georgia, "The Idea of Force in American Foreign Policy, 1918-1939."

Jacob R. Marcus, Adolph S. Ochs professor of Jewish history at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, was elected president of the American Jewish Historical Society at the fifty-fourth annual meeting of the society, February 11-12, in New York.

Francis Butler Simkins of Longwood College delivered the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures at Louisiana State University in April, 1956. His subject was "Religion as a Factor in Southern Civilization."

Edward C. Kirkland of Bowdoin College delivered the Messenger Lectures at Cornell University in April on "Dream and Thought in the Business Community, 1860-1900."

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellows for 1956 include the following scholars in history and related fields: Richard Bardolph, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, The history of the Negro in the United States; Marvin B. Becker, Baldwin-Wallace College, History of representative government in Florence in the fourteenth century; Peter M. Boyd-Bowman, Kalamazoo College, Regional origins of Spanish colonists of America in the sixteenth century; Peter Charanis, Rutgers University, Social structure of the Byzantine Em-

pire; Gilbert Chinard, Princeton University, History of European concepts relating to America; I. Bernard Cohen, Harvard University, Development of Newton's scientific ideas and their influence in the eighteenth century; Moshe Davis, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, Elements of the Jewish tradition in America and the effects of American experience on it; Charles F. Edson, Jr., University of Wisconsin, Ancient history of Macedonia; Henry G. Fischer, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Provincial government in Egypt prior to the Middle Kingdom; Shelby Foote, Memphis, Tennessee, The American Civil War as seen from the point of view of participants; Hans W. Gatzke, Johns Hopkins University, Life and times of Gustav Stresemann; Myron P. Gilmore, Harvard University, Legal humanism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; Charles Mayo Goss, Louisiana State University, History of medicine in ancient Greece; William Haller, Barnard College, Protestant propaganda in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I and its effect upon the English national spirit; Vivian C. Hopkins, New York State College for Teachers, Albany, Influence of Francis Bacon on American thought in the first half of the nineteenth century; Lloyd A. W. Kasten, University of Wisconsin, The "Universal History" of Alfonso the Wise, thirteenth-century king of Spain; John H. Kemble, Pomona College, Maritime history of the Pacific Coast; Josef Korbel, University of Denver, Impact of Soviet-German relations in the countries located between the Soviet Union and Germany; George A. Kubler, Yale University, Architecture of the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1450-1800; Stephan G. Kuttner, Catholic University of America, Medieval canon law; Wallace T. MacCaffrey, Haverford College, Development of the merchant class of the city of Bristol, 1500-1640; Richard B. Mather, University of Minnesota, Buddhist influence in the writings of Chinese intellectuals of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.; John L. Mish, Slavonic Division, New York Public Library, Literary and scientific activities of the Jesuits in Peking in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Kurt H. Nadelmann, New York University, History of the development of the rules of conflict of laws in the United States; James H. Nicholas, University of Chicago, Nineteenth-century American intellectual and religious history, with special reference to the "Mercersburg movement"; Bessie Louise Pierce, University of Chicago, History of the city of Chicago, 1893-1915; Richard E. Pipes, Harvard University, Ideas and social bases of Russian conservatism from its emergence at the end of the eighteenth century to 1917; Earl S. Pomeroy, University of Oregon, History of the Pacific Coast states of the United States; George W. Potter, Providence, Rhode Island, The Catholic Irish in America, 1820-1860; William S. Powell, University of North Carolina Library, Explorers and colonists who went from England to what is now North Carolina in the sixteenth century; R. John Rath, University of Texas, The Austrian government in Lombardy-Venetia, 1814-1823; Felix Reichmann, Cornell University Library, The book trade in medieval Italy; Rev. John J. Ryan, Jr., St. John's Seminary, Boston, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies,

Toronto, Historical origins of the eleventh-century (Gregorian) reform of the church; Lewis W. Spitz, University of Missouri, Religious thought of certain German Renaissance humanists; David Spring, Johns Hopkins University, Life and times of the fifth Earl Fitzwilliam, 1786-1857; Brian Tierney, Catholic University of America, Ecclesiastical law concerning the relief of poverty in the Middle Ages; Adam B. Ulam, Harvard University, Development of Marxian socialism in the West and in Russia; T. Harry Williams, Louisiana State University, The career of Senator Huey P. Long; Arthur M. Wilson, Jr., Dartmouth College, Biographical studies of Diderot and D'Alembert; William L. Winter, Teachers College of Connecticut, New Britain, Development of the Hanseatic League as an example of European supranational organization.

Recipients of grants from the Southern Fellowships Fund for advanced study or research, 1956-1957, include: Clarence B. Carson, Arlington State (Texas) College; Leonard P. Curry, University of Kentucky; Mary E. Davidson, University of Alabama; Richard B. Drake, Agnes Scott College; Joe B. Ezell, University of Alabama; John L. Ferguson, Conway Baptist College; Thomas F. Harwood, University of Texas; Andrew J. Johnson, III, Schreiner Institute; Clifton H. Johnson, LeMoyne College; Martin H. Lutter, University of Oklahoma; Richard C. McCleary, University of Tennessee; Laura M. Maier, Southwest Texas State Teachers College; Edward H. Phillips, The Citadel; Henry C. Randall, University of North Carolina; Samuel T. Schroetter, Jr., University of Virginia; Tinsley L. Spraggins, Virginia Union University; Diffie W. Standard, University of North Carolina; Mrs. Elvena B. Tillman, Miles College; Nathaniel P. Tillman, Jr., Miles College; Henry Y. Warnock, Mercer University.

The Pulitzer Prizes in history and biography for 1955 were awarded to Richard Hofstadter for his *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (Alfred A. Knopf) and Talbot Hamlin for his *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Oxford University Press).

The 1955 Bancroft Prizes, given annually by Columbia University "for distinguished writings in American history," have been awarded to Elizabeth Stevenson for *Henry Adams: A Biography* (Macmillan) and for *Last Full Measure* (Dodd, Mead), the fourth and final volume of the late J. G. Randall's *Lincoln the President*, which was completed by Richard N. Current.

The annual book prize of the Institute of Early American History and Culture has been awarded to Alan Simpson of the University of Chicago for his *Puritanism in Old and New England* (University of Chicago Press, 1955).

The Royal Historical Society's David Berry Prize for 1955 has been awarded to W. A. McNeill for his essay "'Estaytt' of the King's Rents and Pensions, 1621." The Society's Alexander Prize was not awarded for 1955. Those who wish

to enter essays in competition for either prize should write for particulars to the Secretary of the Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London, S.W. 10.

Eric E. Lampard of Smith College has been awarded the David Clark Everest Prize in Economic History, by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for his manuscript "The Rise of the Dairy Industry: A Study of Agricultural Change in the Midwest, 1820-1920."

The Solon J. Buck Award of the Minnesota Historical Society for 1955 went to G. Theodore Mitau for his article "The Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party Schism of 1948," published in the spring, 1955, issue of *Minnesota History*.

A group of friends and associates of the late Ferdinand Schevill have engaged to endow a graduate fellowship in history to honor the memory of a great teacher and humanist. A member of the original staff at Chicago in 1892, his teaching career ended only in 1949, when he served as a visiting professor at Frankfurt. Contributions from former students or friends will be gratefully received. Checks should be drawn to the Ferdinand Schevill Memorial Fellowship Fund and addressed to the Department of History, University of Chicago.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Agnes Scott College: Koenraad W. Swart of Brenau College appointed associate professor. *Antioch College:* Louis Filler promoted to professor of American civilization. *Brooklyn College:* John Hope Franklin of Howard University appointed professor and chairman of the department. *University of Buffalo:* Richard L. Heindel, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and professor of history and government, relinquishes his deanship to become vice-chancellor for planning and development, effective June 30. *Carnegie Institute of Technology:* Robert Leslie Daniel and Edwin Fenton promoted to assistant professors. *Colorado College:* William R. Hochman and Earland I. Carlson promoted to assistant professorships. *Columbia University:* Charles B. Forcey of Miami University appointed assistant professor of history in General Studies. *Earlham College:* T. D. Seymour Bassett promoted to associate professor and college archivist; Daniel D. Hosler appointed assistant professor, as of July 1, 1955. *Grinnell College:* Samuel H. Baron, formerly of the University of Nebraska, appointed, effective July 1. *Harvard University:* Charles Gibson of the State University of Iowa appointed visiting professor for 1956-57. *Institute for Advanced Study:* Frederick

¹In the interests of saving space, the *Review's* policy is not to print personals concerning summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations. The *Review* will continue to print news of appointments, promotions, and retirements. The change in the form of printing notes, beginning with the last issue, is also in the interests of saving space. Appointments and promotions refer to departments of history unless otherwise specified.

Heymann of the Fieldston School, New York, appointed member of the School of Historical Studies for 1956-57. *State University of Iowa*: Giles Constable appointed instructor, effective September, 1955. *Johns Hopkins University*: Hans W. Gatzke promoted to professor and David Spring to associate professor. *Long Beach State College* (California): Theodore E. Nichols, formerly of the University of Georgia, appointed assistant professor.

University of Michigan: Robert I. Crane of the University of Chicago appointed assistant professor. *Muhlenberg College*: John J. Reed and William C. Wilbur, Jr., promoted to associate professorships. *University of Nebraska*: James C. Olson appointed professor and named chairman of the department. *Princeton University*: Jerome Blum and Charles C. Gillispie promoted to associate professorships, and Maurice D. Lee, Jr., awarded bicentennial preceptorship. *University of South Carolina*: George Curry on leave in England to assist Sir Evelyn Wrench in the preparation of an authorized biography of Lord Milner. *Southern Missionary College* (Collegedale, Tenn.): Leif K. Tobiassen promoted to professor. *Temple University*: John O. Stigall of the University of Colorado appointed assistant professor for 1956-57. *Wabash College*: Wendell N. Calkins, formerly of the University of Buffalo, appointed associate professor and chairman of the department. *University of Western Ontario*: Wallace K. Ferguson of New York University appointed J. B. Smallman professor of history and chairman of the department. *Richmond Professional Institute, College of William and Mary*: James H. Bailey appointed assistant professor; he is also serving at the University of Richmond and the Extension Service of the University of Virginia. *Yale University*: Robert S. Lopez promoted to professor and Leonard Krieger to associate professor.

RECENT DEATHS

James G. Grady, a life member of the American Historical Association since 1926, died in Winsted, Connecticut, on November 18, 1954.

Paul Osgood Hardy, professor emeritus of history at Occidental College and former occupant of the Norman Bridge chair of Hispanic-American history, died on November 11, 1955. On the Occidental College faculty since 1923, Professor Hardy likewise was a member of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association and of the American Historical Association, the former from its beginnings. He was president of the Pacific Coast Branch in 1954 and his last public appearance was the presentation of his presidential address at the Branch meeting held at the University of Southern California. Professor Hardy maintained a steady interest in Latin-American history and culture from his early training at Yale University under Professor Hiram Bingham through his graduate studies at the University of California at Berkeley with Professors Charles Edward Chapman and Herbert E. Bolton. He assisted Hiram Bingham in the excavation of the ancient Inca ruins of Macchu Picchu in the Andes. During World War I

he served in the United States Army supply corps and later with the special Colonel House Inquiry of 1918. For several years he held positions with banking firms both in New York and Latin America, which he abandoned for graduate studies at the University of California. During World War II he was economic analyst at the U. S. Embassy at Panama and later was cultural attaché both at Panama and at Ciudad Trujillo in the Dominican Republic. He was co-author of *A History of the Pacific Area* (1950) and *The March of Industry* (1929), besides contributing many reviews and articles.

Arthur Scott Aiton, for many years professor of history at the University of Michigan, died on December 29, 1955, at Battle Creek, Michigan, at the age of sixty-one. Born in Alameda, California, he received the A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. degrees from the University of California. He joined the faculty of the University of Michigan in 1921 as an instructor in history, and advanced through the academic ranks to professor of history, in 1929. He was a visiting lecturer at the Centro de Estudios de Historia de America, University of Seville, in 1936, and was awarded the Order of Isabella the Catholic by the Spanish government. In 1941 he was United States Exchange Professor in Costa Rica and in 1947 visiting lecturer at Bogotá, Colombia.

Professor Aiton served on the Council of the American Historical Association, 1941-1945. He was for many years a member of the board of editors of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*. He was a member of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and of the Society of American Historians. At various times he served the United States government as an expert in the field of inter-American relations, and during World War II was a special consultant in the Office of Strategic Services.

He was a distinguished scholar, the author of *Antonio de Mendoza: First Viceroy of New Spain* (1927) and of a substantial list of articles on European diplomacy and Hispanic-American relations. Noteworthy among these were his studies of Francisco Nuñez de Coronado, which served to clarify Coronado's role in the history of exploration and colonization and a study of the intrigues behind the negotiations which concluded the Seven Years' War and determined the Louisiana boundary. He made the University of Michigan an important center for the study of Hispanic American history, building an extensive library collection in the field, creating a broad interest among undergraduates, and directing the work of nineteen doctors of philosophy. Illness terminated his scholarly activities in 1951.

Ebba Dalin, who taught American history at the University of Washington from 1920 to 1937, died in Stockholm, January 25, at the age of fifty-nine. Born of Swedish parents in Baku, Russia, she moved with her family to the United States at the age of eight. She received the Ph.D. in history from Stanford in 1927. After her marriage in 1937 to a Swedish industrialist, who survives her, she

moved to Sweden. She played an active part in organizing studies of American literature and culture at Swedish universities and lectured extensively at several universities and also under the auspices of adult-education organizations. To the knowledge of American literature in Sweden she contributed as editor of three anthologies. An untiring champion of closer cultural relations between the United States and Sweden, she will be missed by a wide circle of friends in both countries.

William Starr Myers, professor emeritus of politics at Princeton University, died unexpectedly January 28. Professor Myers came to Princeton as preceptor and assistant professor of politics in 1906, was advanced to a full professorship in 1918, and retired in 1943. At various periods he taught or lectured at the Hopkins, the Army War College and the Naval War College—receiving a citation from the latter—and was a trustee of the Lake Placid Club Educational Foundation. He was a member of the American Historical Association (since 1901), the American Political Science Association, and Phi Beta Kappa, and a frequent speaker before the American Society of Colonial Wars, of whose medal he was a recipient. He also served at times on the editorial staff of the *New York Journal of Commerce*.

While he was a teacher of politics, his principal books fall in the field of history or biography, among them being *The Republican Party: A History* (1928); *General McClellan* (1934); *The Foreign Policies of Herbert Hoover* (1940); *The Hoover Administration* (with Walter Newton, 1936); *The Story of New Jersey* (1945). The volumes stemming from his association with the former President have the value of historical sources. His story of New Jersey has received warm encomiums from the New Jersey Historical Society.

Professor Myers' vital and alert personality, his decisiveness of utterance, his quick wit, his ready command of the pertinent episode from his wide-ranging knowledge of the American political scene past and present, all combined to make his courses famous on the Princeton campus and to attract many hearers to his lectures besides those enrolled for them. To his departmental colleagues, even when they disagreed with him, which was not infrequently the case, he was a constant source of stimulation, and will be sorely missed by them.

Charles Schmidt, eminent French archivist and historian, died February 6 at the age of eighty-four. Born in 1872 at St. Dié, in the Vosges, Dr. Schmidt published several articles against the annexation and occupation of Alsace-Lorraine in the two world wars. Following his study at the Sorbonne, the Ecole des Chartes, and service as departmental archivist in the Yonne, he became archivist at the Archives Nationales in 1899, from which he retired in 1942. His thesis for the doctorate in 1905 was a study of the Grand Duchy of Berg (1806-13), later awarded a prize by the Académie des Sciences Morales. His historical works included a wide range of subjects, from the role of intendants of finance in the seventeenth century, reports of the police during the Revolutionary period, to a study of the national ateliers made for the centenary of the Revolution of 1848.

He was particularly noted for various economic studies, such as the industrial crisis of 1788, industrial statistics in the year V, the cotton industry of Haut-Rhin in 1806, and Antwerp and the Continental System. These are only a few of the many volumes and articles that he published during his long career. He was also a noted bibliographer.

He was one of the charter members of the Société d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, held numerous offices, spoke many times before the society, and zealously promoted its activities. He was also member and officer of numerous other societies, such as Société de l'Ecole des Chartes, Société de l'Histoire de 1848, Association des Archivistes Français, and the Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme Français. Charles Schmidt was one of the great scholars of France, and will be seriously missed.

James Morton Callahan, retired dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at West Virginia University, died March 16, 1956, at Morgantown, West Virginia, in his ninety-second year. He received his college and university training at Indiana Normal College, Indiana University, the University of Chicago, and the Johns Hopkins University. At Johns Hopkins he took his doctorate in history, economics, and politics under the guidance of Herbert B. Adams. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and a number of other learned and professional societies. He had held membership in the American Historical Association for more than sixty years.

Dr. Callahan made a noted contribution in the field of historical writing. The number of monographs, articles, and books written by him is exceptionally large for a busy teacher. He was a pioneer in the field of diplomatic history and was one of the first to use the records of the State Department. Outstanding among his works on diplomatic history are: *Confederate Diplomacy*; *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations*; and *American Foreign Policy in Canadian Relations*. He was also author of the *Semi-Centennial History of West Virginia*.

Although Professor Callahan's rank as a writer was one of which any scholar might well be proud, his finest service was that as a teacher. In his long career as an educator he taught in succession in the public schools and State Normal College of Indiana, Johns Hopkins University, Hamilton College, West Virginia University, and in the summer sessions of five other universities. At West Virginia University he was head of the department of history (1902-29) and dean of the College of Arts and Sciences (1916-29). In 1929 he retired as professor and dean but for a few years continued his connection with West Virginia University as research professor. In his teaching of history he was able to inspire his students with a love of the subject and to lead them into a proper understanding and evaluation of historical events. Owing to his genial and kindly manner, coupled with a sense of humor, his relations with his students were exceptionally easy and pleasant.

George Sarton was born in Ghent on August 31, 1884, and died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on March 22, 1956. He had already founded the periodical *Isis* and published a few issues of it, when the German invasion of Belgium drove him to our shores. A growing interest in the history of science in this country immediately after the First World War resulted in the establishment of the History of Science Society and the making of *Isis* its official organ. The subscriptions of the Society's members did not, however, completely finance that journal, and Dr. Sarton repeatedly assumed the meeting of annual deficits rather than restrict the size and scope of *Isis* to what strict economy would have required. In 1936 he started a supplementary periodical, *Osiris*, for studies which were too elaborate for inclusion in *Isis*. In 1918 he had been appointed associate of the Carnegie Institution; Harvard University allotted him a working place in Widener Library; from 1940 to 1951 he was professor of the history of science at that institution. He also in 1952 relinquished the editing of *Isis* but gave lectures at other universities, Kansas, Nebraska, and Pennsylvania, which were published in book form in 1953, 1954, and 1955. At a luncheon at the recent joint sessions of the American Historical Association and the History of Science Society, he was awarded the George Sarton Medal, which had been designed and struck in his honor.

Of all his numerous publications Sarton will be especially remembered for the critical bibliographies, largely of his own composition, which appeared regularly in *Isis*, and for his colossal *Introduction to the History of Science*, of which the first volume, *From Homer to Omar Khayyam* (839 pp.) appeared in 1927; the second, on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in two parts of 1,251 pages in 1931; and the third, on the fourteenth century, in two parts of 2,155 pages in 1947. The above quoted subtitle of the first volume illustrates the fact that neither his critical bibliographies nor the *Introduction* were confined to the history of science in a narrow sense, but also embraced the humanities, in which and music he had the keenest interest. Both bibliographies and *Introduction* furthermore followed a world-wide arrangement by half centuries, in which barriers of race, language, and nationality were disregarded, and the scientific activities of East and West were presented side by side. The latest volume ended with indexes in Chinese and Japanese characters of some fifty-six pages.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Before taking issue with Professor Hans Baron in connection with his review of Professor Labande's *L'Italie de la Renaissance* (*AHR*, January, 1956, pp. 385-87), I want to stress that I value very highly everything that comes from his pen, including the review. But I am not fully convinced by his definitions of what he calls "les données essentielles" of the problem, that is, presumably, the uncontroversial generalizations upon which all works should be based.

Since economic history is the field with which I am more familiar, I shall limit

my remarks to it. Professor Baron's objection to Labande's "assertion of an all-engulfing economic decay" would find little support with the majority of economic historians—unless, of course, "all-engulfing" means "total and unrelieved," which is a far more radical position than Labande's. For instance, in the latest general work on the subject, *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, II (1952), several scholars of two countries, each of them writing without contact with the others, agreed in a verdict of general decline. Much the same outlook prevailed in the Third International Convention of Renaissance Studies (Florence, 1952) and at the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences (Rome, 1955), albeit in both cases there were expressions of dissent and many qualifications. That every generalization must be qualified is a truism which should not impair the validity of the generalization. Thus, in the face of a widely documented demographic stagnation or regression, it does not seem vitally important that "marriages and births did not decline everywhere" (incidentally, of the four authorities quoted by Baron to this effect Barbagallo was a supporter of the decay theory, von Beloch had no figures for the Middle Ages, and Pieri is a political, not an economic, historian; moreover, Fernand Braudel is probably the greatest specialist of early modern economic history, but his research has never gone farther back than 1492). As for the fact that "public debt in Venice and Milan decreased," the identification of prosperity with balanced budgets is not a bipartisan economic dogma. There are those who will be more impressed by the collapse of nearly all Venetian banks and by the fatal inadequacy of Milanese military expenditures.

Without going into further detail I would like to submit that there is a cultural lag between the findings of economic historians and those of political or intellectual historians. The lag is unfortunately broadened by the fact that the latter would prefer to believe in a great economic upswing to sustain the intellectual blossoming of the Renaissance. Who knows? Further research in economic history may in the future give them some comfort. But until and unless this happens, we have to take stock of the now prevalent theory that the Renaissance witnessed a deep economic crisis though not a total catastrophe (are there any total catastrophes in history?), and that in spite of many local, partial, or temporary gains it represented an anticlimax or at least a phase of slower development after the quicker progress of the medieval commercial revolution. Naturally this should not prevent Professor Baron's siding with the minority of economic historians who deny the existence of the crisis—provided he warns the reader that it is only a minority opinion.

Yale University

ROBERT SABATINO LOPEZ

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I am glad that Professor Lopez in such a friendly and generous fashion broaches a problem that has troubled me since, in the "Renaissance Symposium" of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1952, he first made "preconceived impressions" responsible for widespread hesitation to subscribe to the theory that the economic depression which started with the fourteenth century continued in the Italy of the Quattrocento. In his stimulating Symposium paper, Lopez argued: under the impact of the retrogression, even in Italy areas previously cultivated were abandoned; economic freedom decreased as guilds were closed to newcomers; the rich grew richer and the poor, poorer; and these experiences influ-

enced Renaissance thought, by engendering pessimism, as in Machiavelli, and a belief in a cyclical flow and ebb of culture.

Is this provocative theory, either *in toto* or in part, shared by the majority of present-day economic historians? From their published statements it would be impossible to gain this impression. The only extant comprehensive descriptions of the economic situation in Renaissance Italy, by G. Luzzatto and C. Barbagallo, revised as late as 1955 and 1952, include a wealth of evidence not only of successful Quattrocento compensations for fourteenth-century losses in banking, trade, and industry, but also of extension and amelioration of the cultivated land—a definite expansion of Italian agriculture after 1400, as C. M. Cipolla has recently maintained. Domination of economic life through the guilds, according to Luzzatto, was weakened by “una tendenza verso una maggiore libertà economica” than had existed before the Quattrocento and was to exist after 1550. According to Barbagallo, the Quattrocento saw a “wider diffusion of medium fortunes” than had been known previously; and if we follow the account of the conditions of the industrial and agricultural workers by P. S. Leicht (1946), we have no reason to assume a lowering of wages in purchase power. As for the “decay” recognized by Barbagallo, he was thinking essentially of the economic destruction caused by the wars of the late Renaissance after the 1480’s; and even there he may have exaggerated the decline, as I have pointed out in *Bibl. d’Hum. et Ren.*, XVII (1955), 433 f. Regarding “the collapse of nearly all Venetian banks” in the 1490’s, V. Magalhães-Godinho (*Eventail . . . à L. Febvre*, 1953) has suggested that the causes lay largely not in Venice’s public finance but in temporary trade conditions in the East; and the catastrophe was followed by an impressive Venetian reconstruction, which is also known through P. Sardella’s research.

At the Ninth International Congress of Historical Sciences in 1950, a joint report of four economic historians (Cipolla, Dhondt, Postan, Ph. Wolff) acknowledged that in North and Central Italy the rural population and the agricultural output rose after 1400. And at the Tenth Congress, in 1955, a five-man report (by Mollat, Postan, P. Johansen, Saporì, Verlinden) warned that the assumption of a continued depression during the fifteenth century everywhere in Europe might lure us into a “snare”; according to present knowledge, Italy, after having led “la première renaissance économique” during the twelfth century, in the Quattrocento “aurait inauguré la seconde, tandis que le reste de l’Occident connaissait encore la dépression.”

Newberry Library

HANS BARON

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The review of the first published volume of *The Holstein Papers* in the January, 1956, issue of the *American Historical Review* contains a number of misconceptions about the document collection and the scope of the publication. The review states: “As to gaps in the relevant material, it is certain, beyond the surmises of the editors, that Holstein’s letters to Paul von Hatzfeldt were destroyed in an air raid in November, 1943. Bernhard von Bülow’s letters to Holstein had been returned to the chancellor by Holstein himself.”

The original copies of Holstein’s letters to Hatzfeldt would, of course, have formed part of Hatzfeldt’s papers. The Holstein papers contain over two hundred letters from Hatzfeldt to Holstein, and a number of Holstein’s drafts for replies, which the editors were able to supplement from other collections. In so far as the

letters destroyed in November, 1943, came from Holstein's papers, they must have been the ones removed by Dr. Friedrich Thimme, a gap to which attention is drawn on page xxvi of the introduction to the *Papers*. The Holstein document collection includes more than two hundred letters from Bülow to Holstein, as well as a number of drafts or copies of Holstein's letters to Bülow. There is no indication that any letters were ever handed back to Bülow, and the nature of the material makes this highly unlikely. Selections from Holstein's correspondence with both Bülow and Hatzfeldt will be included in the volumes of Holstein's correspondence.

The entire publication of Holstein's papers is planned in four volumes, not two volumes as your reviewer states.

Bryn Mawr College
London, England

NORMAN RICH
M. H. FISHER

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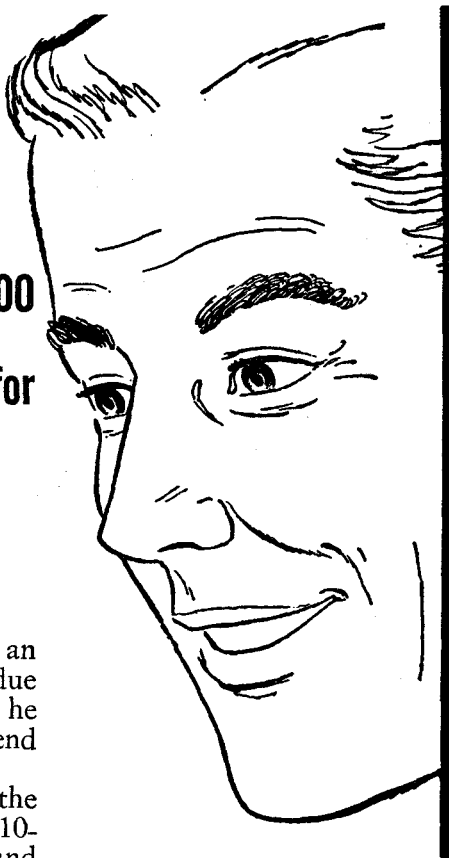
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PUBLISHED FOR THE INSTITUTE OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE, AS A VOLUME IN THE SERIES, CORNELL STUDIES IN CIVIL LIBERTY. *By James Morton Smith, Editor of Publications at the Institute, and Lecturer in History, College of William & Mary*

Broad insight into the early development of our civil liberties is to be gained from this reappraisal of the enactment and enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Laws. Prosecutions under the Laws, their use as a political weapon during the election of 1800, and the responsibility of leading Federalists for the repressive legislation—all are covered. Texts of the Laws are included.

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